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# AN INQUIRY

CONCERNING THE

## Invention of Printing:

IN WHICH THE

SYSTEMS OF MEERMAN, HEINECKEN, SANTANDER, AND KONING ARE REVIEWED;

INCLUDING ALSO

NOTICES OF THE EARLY USE OF WOOD-ENGRAVING IN EUROPE,  
THE BLOCK-BOOKS, ETC.

BY THE LATE

WILLIAM YOUNG OTTLEY, ESQ., F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF ENGRAVING  
ON COPPER AND IN WOOD, ETC.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION BY J. PH. BERJEAU,

EDITOR OF THE REPRODUCTION OF SEVERAL OF THE EARLY BLOCK-BOOKS,  
NAMELY, BIBLIA PAUPERUM, CANTICUM CANTICORUM, SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS, ETC.

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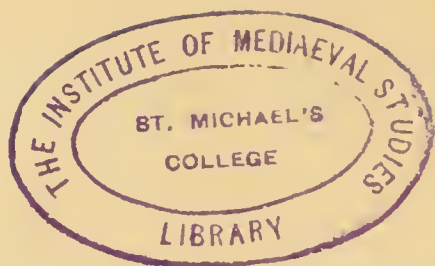
ILLUSTRATED WITH THIRTY-SEVEN PLATES,  
AND NUMEROUS WOOD-ENGRAVINGS.

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TO

JOHN B. INGLIS, ESQ.

THIS POSTHUMOUS WORK OF HIS FRIEND,

WILLIAM YOUNG OTTLEY, ESQ.

*Is Dedicated,*

BY HIS OBEDIENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

JOSEPH LILLY.



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AN INQUIRY  
CONCERNING  
THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

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INTRODUCTION.

AFTER the lapse of a quarter of a century, the plates and last five leaves of the present work of the late Mr. W. Y. Ottley having fortunately been discovered, “An Inquiry concerning the Invention of Printing” is now introduced in its complete form to the public, as a worthy companion to the “Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving,” published by the same author, London, 1816, in two volumes 4to. As is shown by the title itself, this new work does not embrace so wide a range as the Origin and Early History of Engraving. Our author does not profess, in this last performance, to exhaust the question of the Origin and Early History of Printing, but only to confine his investigation to the controversy, as it stands, between the rival claims of Haerlem and Mentz, of John Gutenberg and Laurens Coster. That this Inquiry is now complete, everybody familiar with the dispute will immediately perceive from the fact that no document or argument of real importance has been produced on either side since the termination of the present work, and the death of its author in 1836, when his eldest son, Mr. William Campbell Ottley, received with the engravings and the last leaf verbal instruc-

tions how to publish the present volume, which was all printed in the author's life-time. There could have been no difficulty in the arrangement of the plates in their proper places, by Mr. Ottley's son, since when reference is made to any particular plate, the number engraved on it is generally indicated. But death prevented the son from executing the last instructions of his father about this book, the corrected proofs of which then came into the possession of Mr. Warner Ottley, the brother of the author. He also died before he had been able to take the necessary steps for the issue of the work, which thus remained in the hands of Mr. W. Nicol, the printer, from whom it was purchased in its unfinished state by Mr. J. Lilly, its present publisher. The proof copy, with the end of the last chapter, which had been successively in the hands of the late Mr. William Campbell Ottley and the late Mr. Warner Ottley, as well as the whole of the plates, engraved at a very great expense during the life of the author, had been put aside in a lumber-room, where, as we have said, they have been but recently discovered, and purchased by Mr. Lilly.

Mr. OTTLEY'S Inquiry concerning the Invention of Printing is the most complete *résumé* of all that had been previously published about the rival claims of Mentz and Haerlem to the discovery of Typography. In the first half of the present century, the powerful authority of Heineken, and La Serna Santander, now fairly exploded by new bibliographical discoveries, was accepted without contradiction in France and in England, as well as in Germany. It wanted no common share of courage to undertake in England the vindication of the cause of Holland, so slighted by Middleton, and whose only advocates had been Bowyer and Nichols in their



“Origin of Printing” (8vo. London, 1776), as nobody cared for the testimony of Atkyns, who, in his “Origin and Growth of Printing” (London, 1644, 4to.) actually establishes Gutenberg at Haerlem, without saying a word about Coster.

This courage Mr. Ottley had acquired from the habit of investigation, and from the facilities offered to him by a daily intercourse with John B. Inglis, Esq., who was then, and is still, fortunately, ready to diffuse his extensive knowledge in bibliographical matters, and to give access to his remarkable collection of scarce books, among which are many Dutch editions, very little known or not to be found elsewhere. Mr. Ottley’s book is so much the more interesting at the present juncture, as no one of his countrymen thought proper to follow him in his endeavours to elicit the truth about what have been superciliously called the pretensions of Haerlem. It was not so in France, where Coster’s cause has been lately taken up with no common warmth by such distinguished bibliographers as MM. Paul Lacroix (1), Count L. de Laborde (2), Aug. Bernard (3) and Ch. Paeile (4). The Dutch themselves have not been idle in maintaining the ground occupied by Junius (5), Schrijver (6), Seiz (7), Meerman (8), and Koning (9). M. Abraham de Vries, after having collected all the arguments brought forward by previous bibliographers in favour of his country (10), discussed those of the German writers (11), with an earnestness proportionate to the acrimony of his adversaries. M. J. W. Holtrop (12), by describing the numerous editions of early books of Dutch origin which are in the Royal Library at the Hague, has virtually reduced to nought the suggestions of La Serna Santander against the genuineness of the dates of several early editions produced by Dutch typographers. In his work, now in progress,

“Monuments Typographiques des Pays-Bas” (13), the same author, to whom Mr. Ottley showed the engravings, so long mislaid, and which are now to be published with the present work, accumulates in clever fac-similes, drawn by Mr. Spanier, the proofs of Holland’s typographical abilities in the XVth century.

Now, would it not have been strange, in a country where “fair play” is a national motto, if not a single writer had raised his voice in favour of Haerlem and Coster, although everybody might be a partisan of Gutenberg and Mentz? *Audi alteram partem!* is a most necessary step in the sincere investigation of truth. It would have been a great scandal if no English bibliographer had taken the trouble of expounding, more fully than had been done hitherto, the facts on which the claims of the citizen of Haerlem to the invention of printing in moveable types are grounded. This task, accepted by Mr. Ottley, has been performed, as the reader will see, with an amount of skill, taste, and conscientious labour which has not been equalled by foreign writers, even directly interested in the glory of the true inventor. The Inquiry concerning the Origin of Printing has the advantage over most of the analogous productions, of being illustrated by numerous engravings, in which are lying before the very eyes of the reader the proof of what is advanced in the book itself, and the means of judging immediately the merit or unworthiness of the argument put forward by the author.

In his investigation on the origin of Typography, so unavoidably intermixed with early xylography, Mr. Ottley had the double advantage of being at once an iconographer of undoubted competency, and of having access to several private Libraries. The two last bibliographical oracles of the XVIIIth century had, on the contrary,

been sadly deficient in this respect: Heinecken being merely an iconographer, with no knowledge whatever of typographical labours, and La Serna Santander a philobiblist, with very few notions on the xylography of the XVth century. M. A. Bernard, when speaking of the "Inquiry into the Origin of Engraving" (14), says in his book, "De l'Origine et des débuts de l'Imprimerie en Europe," Paris, 8vo. 1853, Vol. i. p. 20. "Ottley, dont le livre si remarquable restera comme un monument de science et de patience," pays a deserved tribute to the universally recognised authority of Mr. Ottley as an iconographer; the present "Inquiry into the Invention of Printing," will, no doubt, equally establish his high position as a bibliographer.

In the first chapter of the book which is now before the reader, Mr. Ottley acquaints us with the method he intends to pursue in the course of his work. He points out, how happening to turn over and compare the editions of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, he made a discovery which convinced him that, "whether true, to the extent insisted upon by the advocates for Holland, or not, the tradition, that Printing was used in that country at a very early period, and that a printer of Haerlem, in the XVth century, was robbed of his type, does not merit to be treated as a mere fable."

He confesses however that the scantiness of positive testimony, bearing upon the subject, has made it necessary for him to go into minute details of circumstantial evidence; but we do not complain of this necessity which compelled him to give certainly the best account of early block books which had been hitherto published, and particularly an extended description of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, the most interesting among them in a typographical point of view.



Moreover, “by laying before the reader the chief historical testimony existing in favour of the claims of Holland, and a few of the principal documents relating to Gutenberg,” the author of the “Inquiry into the Invention of Printing,” has certainly condensed in the present quarto volume the best, the clearest, and the most impartial resumé of a controversy, which, although of such general interest, is diffused through cumbrous publications, and for the most part tainted with prejudice, or violent partiality.

The second chapter of the Inquiry opens with the testimonies in favour of the pretensions of Holland, as given by Ulric Zell, in the Cologne Chronicle, printed 1499 ; by Mariangelus Accursius, circa 1510 ; from portraits of Laurent Janssoen and various ancient artists of Haerlem, printed from engraved blocks, about the same date ; by Jan Van Zuyren, 1549-1561 ; Thierry Volckert Coornhert, 1561 ; and Ludovico Guicciardini, 1567 ; and last, but not least, by Hadrian Junius, in his *Batavia*, printed 1588. All these testimonies had been previously quoted by Meerman (15), whom Mr. Ottley thinks not justified in giving, as he did, the whole of Junius’s account, as the testimony of Cornelius the bookbinder, which occupies only the latter part of it, and was added by Junius, upon recollection of what Galius had told him formerly, and as a supplement to what he had been able to collect from aged persons of Haerlem living when he wrote.

In the 3rd chapter we are transported to Strasburg, to hear the law-suit, anno 1439, between Joh. Gutenberg and the heirs of Andrew Dritzehen, as given in the original German, with a Latin translation by Schoepflin (16), whom Mr. Ottley accuses of not having been over-scrupulous, in “here and there altering or adding a word or a phrase ;” being thus guilty of a pious fraud, which has been

afterwards imitated by Santander in his French version of those documents, in order to adapt them to his own views. Unfortunately, Mr. Ottley, not being conversant with German, was obliged to employ the *medium* of a friend to go through the whole of this Strasburg litigation ; but he believes that it does not entirely relate to the art of printing, which would have been divulged by it several years before its establishment at Mentz. M. Paul Lacroix (17), contrary to the opinion of Santander and Heineken, surmises that Gutenberg was actually successful in his typographical attempts at Strasburg, and that the word *spiegel* (mirror) mentioned in the case, although its true sense was known only to the associates, and not to the witnesses, the judge, or the public, was the vernacular translation of the Latin *speculum*, a title given to so many books at this time. Thus Gutenberg and his partners would have prepared, if not printed, one of the books bearing this generic title for the fair at Aix-la-Chapelle. The learned French bibliographer ascribes even to Gutenberg, and as printed at Strasburg, the “*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis Latino-Germanicum, cum Speculo Sanctæ Mariæ*,” in fol., generally attributed to Gunther Zainer, the first printer at Augsburg. Although I think M. Lacroix is wrong about this particular book, which can scarcely be denied to Zainer, for the reasons given by M. A. Bernard (*De l’Origine de l’Imprimerie*, p. 152), as well as from the manifest analogy of the types, I fully agree with him, as I have said elsewhere (18), as to the meaning of the word *spiegel* (*speculum*), because my fancy cannot condescend to transform Gutenberg into a mere looking-glass manufacturer.

However, in his fifth chapter Mr. Ottley follows Gutenberg to Mentz, and goes on with the narration of another law-suit between

Fust and Gutenberg in 1455. His impression of this quarrel between the two partners is that Fust, after four or five years' patient trial, found that Gutenberg was incompetent to perform the task he had undertaken, that his money was going very fast, and that no small portion of it had been applied by Gutenberg to his own private purposes. On the whole, Mr. Ottley sees no ground for the accusation of illiberality and unfairness brought against Fust by late writers. This is taking a business-like and an apparently correct view of the case. Ulric Zell's testimony, borne out by the fact of existing printed books in Holland, deprives Gutenberg of the character of an independent inventor. He was very likely shrewd and crafty, ready enough to take a hint, but altogether unqualified to carry out his own ideas ; for he seems to have had no mechanical skill nor inventive faculty. He failed at Strasburg, though he had been assisted by some person who probably afterwards became a printer ; he had certainly not invented proper types when he came to Mentz, and it was even after the new firm had begun to print that Schoeffer perfected the press. It is wrong to suppose that a Bible was the first work of Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer. They began with some small works not now easily distinguished, if they exist.

We come now to the declaration of Conrad Humery respecting the printing apparatus which formerly belonged to Gutenberg, at Mentz, 1468 ; then to the agreement between Gutenberg and his brothers and the nuns of the convent of St. Claire at Mentz, 1459, which Bodman found, about the year 1800, in the Archives of Mentz. Mr. Ottley confesses he has great doubts of the genuineness of the latter, "though perhaps they are ill founded." No doubt is now entertained about its being a forgery. "Henceforward it shall be known, (says



M. de Laborde,<sup>19</sup>) that Bodman, the archivist of Mentz, bothered by Oberlin, Fischer, and all the bibliographers of his time, who wanted him to discover some new information about Gutenberg, thought it worth his while to forge two documents, which just helped them to fill the two gaps which occur in his history, one from 1420 to 1430, the other from 1455 to 1460." The first is in the form of a letter directed from Strasburg by Gutenberg to his sister Bertha, a nun shut up in a Mentz convent. The other is a kind of agreement, in which appears an important sentence by which Gutenberg agreed to deliver to the convent all the books which he has already printed and to give all those which he may print in future. Thus was established: 1st. The impossibility of Gutenberg's sojourn in Holland, where he was then accused of having repaired to fetch Coster's discovery; 2nd, a proof that after the separation from Fust and Schoeffer, he had continued to print in Mentz.

A review of the whole controversy begins Chapter V, by the exposition of the system of Meerman, as developed in his great work entitled "*Origines Typographicae*," Hagae Comitum, 1765, 4to. Mr. Ottley here points out that in Meerman's work it is denied that Coster ever used types of metal, while Junius, in his account of the invention of printing, positively states that he did. The conciliatory spirit of Meerman induced him to allow that his countryman had invented only wooden moveable types, while metallic types were the invention of the German proto-typographers. But he insists that Coster's discovery is at least as early as 1430, and he accounts for Gutenberg's attempts at Strasburg, from 1436 to 1439, by conjecturing that about 1435 he had visited Haerlem to see a brother of his who was one of Coster's workmen. Nevertheless, in spite of the great erudition displayed in his book,

Meerman appears not to have been sufficiently alive to the immense difference between conjecture and proof.

The system of Heinecken is the subject of the following Chapter. Heinecken was, after Fournier, the first to attract anything like general attention to the subject of block-books, as connected with the invention of typography. But in doing this, he complacently ascribed all of them to Germany, while it is now universally acknowledged that the best and earliest of them were executed in Holland. Heinecken fixes the date of 1440 as that of the invention of engraving in central Germany, either at Culmbach, or at Nuremberg, or at Augsburg ; as for Maso Finiguerra, who is said by Vasari to have been the inventor of engraving on copper in 1460, Heinecken thinks Vasari, and other Italian writers, may be right, if they speak only of Italy, but engraving may have been practised long previously in Germany, and the Italians may have been ignorant of it. Heinecken doubted the existence of any print by Finiguerra, but Zani's discovery of an impression on paper of the *Pax* of the Assumption, engraved on silver and finished with *niello* in 1452, after which no impression from the plate could possibly be taken, has for the present settled this question in favour of Italy. Here Mr. Ottley, quoting Heinecken's discovery of the print engraved at Antwerp by an artist whom he calls *Phillery*, shows that this famous connoisseur, so long accepted as an oracle in iconographical matters, was incompetent to pass a judgment upon any work of fine art whatever, for he mistakes for an original woodcut of the Early Dutch School, an indifferent copy of a wood engraving by a Swiss artist, Urs Graaf, the original of which bears the date of 1524. Moreover, Mr. Ottley was the first to read properly the name of the engraver, which is Willem, as everybody will see by the fac-simile here sub-

joined, page 71, and I should have mentioned him on this account instead of Mr. Chatto, at p. xxv of my Introduction to the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* (London, fol. 1861). Nevertheless, we are sure to find for a long time to come in works on iconography the queer name of Phillery, so blunderingly set forward by the German Juncker, who was so little versed in the early history of typography, that he applies, as Mr. Ottley remarks, circumstances of the Strasburg process to the law-suit instituted against Fust by Gutenberg, and thinks the characters of a Donatus, of which an engraved block is still in the Royal Library at the Hague, as exactly of the same type or design as those of the first Bible, and very similar to those of the Psalter of 1457, an assertion which no bibliographer would now dare to countenance. The silence of Carl Van Mander (20), a painter by profession, and a writer full of taste, who wrote at Haerlem 20 years after Junius, about Laurence Coster as an engraver, is indeed a strong argument against our attributing to him all the early Dutch block-books; but as Mr. Ottley observes, the fact of wood-engraving having been neither invented by Coster, nor in the city of Haerlem, may be admitted without any impeachment of the testimony of Junius.

Proceeding to the review of the block-books, as described by the author of the "*Idée Générale*" (21), Mr. Ottley very properly observes, that the style of the cuts of the *BIBLIA PAUPERUM* has considerable resemblance to that of the two Van Eycks, and not, as Heineken says, to that of the Germanic School, from which came Martin Schoen. Of the five Latin editions of this block-book, Mr. Ottley points with reason to the last as a German work, the only known copy of which Heineken met with in the Wolfenbuttel Library. On the "*HISTORIA SANCTI JOHANNIS EVANGELISTÆ*," a much ruder



performance than the *Biblia Pauperum*, and of which Meerman confesses that its author must have been a more Gothic artist than he who did the vignettes of the *Speculum*, Mr. Ottley finds the remarks of Heinecken very reasonable. But he completely disagrees with him on the subject of the “*Book of Canticles*,” the most Gothic of all the block-books, according to Heinecken, while our author esteems, with much reason, this work as one of great excellence. The “*Ars Moriendi*,” he inclines to think, first appeared in Holland or Flanders. The *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, the turning-point of the whole controversy, extensively treated on by Heinecken, with representations fitted for his own purposes, produces a corresponding series of rectifications by Mr. Ottley, who most accurately examined and described this very curious and interesting production, so recklessly ascribed by Heinecken to the Mentz typographers. These rectifications begin by a demonstration that the author of “*Idée Générale*” did not even know the early typographical labours of his own countrymen when he asserted that “not only the books of Fust and Schoeffer, but also the first books printed, from the invention of typography, all over Europe, are printed with Gothic characters ;” while it is certain that the books of Ulric Zell and those of the first printers in Flanders, can scarcely be called Gothic, being in a character midway between the black letter and the Roman, like that of most of the first Mentz books. This character is Saxon, taken from MSS. at Fulda, brought from England by some founders of the convent in that town. In Holland, on the contrary, the genuine broad-faced black letter character of the *Speculum* was constantly retained, with the peculiar form so well defined by the learned F. A. Ebert (<sup>22</sup>).

On the priority of the Latin editions of the *Speculum* over the

Dutch edition, considered as the first by Meerman, our author agrees with Heineken, although he differs from him about the respective order of the two Latin editions, and the place of their production. The latter thinks that probably Theodore Martens, who had learnt his art in Germany, and worked in France, had brought with him the vignettes from one or the other of these two countries, or that perhaps Johan of Westphalia was the printer of the first Flemish editions, and that Veldener received the blocks from him. The object of Heineken, as shown by Mr. Ottley in this chapter, is to remove, if possible, from the minds of his readers the idea that Holland could anciently have had any printing except what she got from Germany.

The system of Santander (23) is next grappled with by our author, as that of a much higher authority in bibliographical matters than Lambinet (24), who had been answered in the "Inquiry into the Origin of Engraving." Santander begins his onslaught on the pretensions of Haerlem by introducing a letter written by Meerman to Wagenaar, wherein he treats the story of Coster as a romantic invention. It is true the author of the "*Origines Typographicæ*" had greatly changed in 1765 his opinions of 1757 on the subject of Coster; but what matter, if the arguments of 1765 are grounded on facts, of which the correspondent of Wagenaar was ignorant 8 years before! Santander's manner of battling with his, for the most part, heretical adversaries, is in true keeping with the *combative* propensities of the far-famed company of whom Ignace Loyola was the founder, and Santander himself was or had been a tool, not "perinde ac cadaver," but very likely most active in Brussels. According to him, the Batavia of Junius (25) is the only piece, the sole testimony, the unique document, upon which the

partizans of Haerlem found their typographical system. Mr. Ottley replies, that the reader may perhaps be surprised at finding here no mention of Van Zuyren, Coornhert, Guicciardini, &c., who wrote before Junius. The argument of Santander relative to the *Donatus*, which is printed with cast type, and on both sides of the paper, while the *Speculum* is only on one side, is answered by our author when he says that the friction necessary to take off the impression of the engravings rendered the paper unfit to receive an impression on the side submitted to the operation of the friction. It would have been equally true to add that, the impressions once taken in this way on the recto of the leaf, it would not have been easy to rub off another impression on the reverse without injuring the first one. However, the *Donatus* printed on both sides was evidently a comparatively recent production ; and the best answer to the objections of Santander is that I have seen in the Royal Library at the Hague a leaf of *Donatus* on vellum, which is printed on one side only. Coster may very well have begun his typographical labours by the printing of small books, like the *Donatus*, without deserving the charge made by Santander, of commencing “his pretended essay by a book printed with moveable characters, and with pages on both sides, and afterwards retrograding to the first elementary ideas, finishing where the art ought to have begun, in printing the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, the *Biblia Pauperum*, and other works of the same kind.” When Santander attributed the engraving and printing of the *Speculum* to Veldener, who printed in 1483 a small work of the same kind, containing, in 64 vignettes, engraved on wood, a History of the Holy Cross, Mr. Ottley had unfortunately not seen the latter book, of which a copy is in Lord Spencer’s collection, otherwise



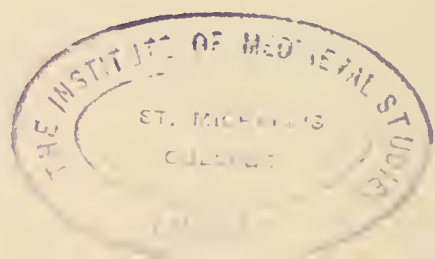
he would have replied victoriously, that there is not the smallest analogy between the style of engraving of the Holy Cross and that of the Speculum; but he truly observes, that the argument of Santander upon the Haerlem question is, from beginning to end, little else than an echo of what Heineken had advanced in his "*Idée Générale*." In establishing the claim of Gutenberg, Santander makes a capital use of the letter which, we have seen, is merely a forgery of Bodman. The Strasburg law-suit has in his eyes no other object than the attempt in the art of printing. This Mr. Ottley cannot grant, although such attempt from 1436 to 1439 does not interfere at all with the priority of Coster's discovery, which must be placed early between 1430 and 1439, when Coster died, as has since been established by Koning. From the declaration of Conrad Humery, of 1468, Santander supposes that Bechtermüntze, who reprinted at Elfeld in 1469 the "*Vocabularium ex Quo*," which had been printed there before in 1467, and part of it very likely in 1460, had bought from Humery the printing apparatus left by Gutenberg at his death, because the types employed in these two editions are identically the same as those of the Catholicon of 1460; all which proves satisfactorily, concludes Santander, that the Catholicon printed at Mentz in 1460, without the name of the printer, issued from the press of J. Gutenberg. Here the author calls to his help the opinion of Mr. Inglis, who ascribed the Catholicon of 1460 to Henry Bechtermüntze, by this unanswerable argument, that the "*Vocabularium ex Quo*," having been completed at Elfeld in Nov. 1467, could not have been printed with the type of Gutenberg, which Conrad Humery had in his possession in Feb. 1468. The opinions of Mr. Inglis and Mr. Ottley on the true paternity of the Catholicon, have been since strenuously advocated by M. A. Ber-

nard, who, not aware of the arguments put forward in the present work, maintains in his "Origine de l'Imprimerie," (vol. ii. pp. 4-14,) "Que le Catholicon a été imprimé par l'artiste auquel nous devons le Vocabularium ex quo de 1467, c'est-à-dire par Henry Bechtermüntze." Our author concludes his remarks on Santander's system by saying he is heartily tired of the task of exposing the sophisms and unwarrantable statements of this learned but not very honest writer.

The system of Koning, which is not much known in England, because the French translation of his book (26) is seldom met with, has never been more fully analysed than it is in the 8th chapter of the present volume. According to this author the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* was the first book that was ever printed with moveable type; it was printed in Haerlem, and the first edition, in the Dutch language, is remarkable for the rudeness of its execution, precisely because it was one of the first essays of Coster. This edition, considered as the first by Meerman also, is now ranked by most bibliographers as the last of all. Koning, contrary to the opinion of Meerman that the characters had been carved on separate pieces of wood, proves very satisfactorily that they were cast metal type. He thinks, however, that they were produced by the ordinary process with punches, matrices, &c. while M. A. Bernard has lately suggested the more probable idea that they were cast in moulds, as are still the small trinkets of humble jewellery. It has been said by M. Bernard, and by myself after him, that Ottley had been able to form his opinion on the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* by the inspection of two or three copies only, then in England, and to trust to correspondence for the state of the copies abroad. This was true when he wrote his

Inquiry on the Origin of Engraving, published in 1816; but he tells us here that he employed five months in Holland with researches in verification of the assertions advanced by Koning, with whom he became acquainted. That Mr. Ottley received the information of Koning with a due regard to the rights of sound criticism, is shown by his differing from him on several important points, and particularly the paper mark of the Gothic P, in which Koning sees the initial of Philip the Bold, while our author thinks that very paper to have been manufactured in Italy. He very justly observes that Koning is far too bold, when he asserts that paper with this mark is never found in any book nor in any paper coming from Germany or from Italy. The truth is that a very long list of such books with this mark could be added to that which Mr. Ottley himself gives. Koning goes so far as to settle the order in which the block-books were produced by the Costerian press, viz. Apocalypsis, Biblia Pauperum, Ars Moriendi, Canticum Canticorum, Speculum Humanæ Salvationis; while he is willing to admit as German productions the Ars Memorandi, der Endchrist, die Kunst-Cyromantia, and other block-books of a rude character. Moreover, he supposes a Latin edition of the Speculum, the most ancient of all, to have once existed with all the pages of the text engraved on blocks of wood. Koning doubts the genuineness of the date of 1423 on Lord Spencer's wood-print of St. Christopher, but it is probable he would not have hazarded such an unwarranted statement if he could have ascribed the print to a Dutch xylographer.

The early use of wood engraving in Europe and the block-books in general form the subject of Mr. Ottley's IXth chapter, in which he describes the St. Christopher and its companion the Annunciation





of the Virgin, giving a full-length facsimile of the former at p. 186, and at p. 189 a reduced copy of the latter, as compared with a Dutch illumination of the same subject taken from a manuscript of about 1390. He suggests very appropriately that, although both engravings were discovered in Germany, they may possibly have been brought thither from Venice. The Annunciation bears so striking a resemblance to the style of the old Italian schools, that there seems to be little doubt about its Italian origin, although the St. Christopher may be a Flemish or German production. The wood engraving next in date is a St. Sebastian, with the date of 1437. Several new discoveries of early engravings have been made since Mr. Ottley's decease, and among them the famous Brussels' Virgin, with the date 1418, the genuineness of which, though impugned by M. de Brou, does not appear to be doubtful. The print which Mr. Ottley found in a German MS. of 1445, and of which a facsimile will be found at p. 193, appears to be of a much earlier date than the MS. itself, and may very fairly be called one of the earliest known specimens of wood engraving. We come now to prints of a very inferior character in point of art, in which, instead of hatchings, white dots are used in finishing the draperies and some other parts of the design. From their similarity to the engravings on copper, described by Theophilus in the earliest practical tract on Gothic art, in the chapter "*De Opere Interrasili*," they have been called *interrasil* engravings, and by the French, "*gravures en manière criblée*," because the dots resemble the holes of a sieve.\* Such is the S. Bernardinus of 1454, of which a facsimile will be found at p. 194, and the "*Christ praying in the Garden*," of which the facsimile is at p. 196. In 1840, M. Léon de La-

\* The dots are holes drilled in the block, apparently to give it a lighter appearance.

borde (27) gave a more detailed and accurate account of this kind of engraving than had been done before. He recognized various hands in the execution of these engravings, which had been generally ascribed to Bernardinus Milnet, because Mr. N. Hill had found the Virgin and Child, reproduced at p. 197, bearing the name of this engraver. But, as J. Renouvier (28) says, "it is sufficient to examine this facsimile to be convinced that the Virgin is not by the same hand as the St. Bernard." Mr. Ottley now takes up a very interesting subject, scarcely touched upon before by iconographers:—early wood engraving in England, which he introduces by the facsimile of an *Ecce Homo*, from an indulgence print, from which it appears that 27,000 years of indulgence may be gained at the trifling cost of 5 paternosters and 5 aves "deuoutly sayd and kneeling before the aforesayd figur." The original of this print is now in the print room of the British Museum. The grotesque alphabet of the same collection is no longer unique, as a perfect copy has been found in the library at Basle with the date of 1464. The letters G, I, K, and L, which are reproduced in facsimile at p. 199, are certainly the most curious, although no bibliographer would now agree with Mr. Ottley that it is extremely probable this alphabet was executed in England. He has, however, perfectly interpreted the inscription "Mon (cœur) avez," which M. Chatto (29) reads "mon (♥) âme." The words *London*, and perhaps *Berkhampsted* written on the L, are now of the same colour as the print itself, owing to the fading of the ink, and not because they make part of the engraving, although they may have been written very soon after the impression of the book. The "Temptationes Dæmonis," formerly in the possession of the author, are also now in the British Museum. A facsimile is given at p. 203, and there is no reason

to think that this specimen of a block-book described by Scriverius as early as 1628, is a production of the Low Countries.

The description of the various block-books which follows is certainly the best and most complete which has been hitherto published, and the text is interspersed with the woodcuts which are in the "Origin of Engraving." It begins with a review of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and concludes by the sensible observation, that if a person well conversant with drawing had the opportunity of comparing together all the different editions of this book, he would be at little loss to determine which was the original. For my own part, I found this task so difficult, on comparing the three copies of various editions which are in the British Museum, that I wrongly thought they were all printed on the same blocks, the variations between them being explained by the various methods of printing, or the state of the blocks, either new or worn out, when used.

The Book of Canticles, Mr. Ottley has proved, was printed off on a series of eight blocks, having on each four designs or two pages engraved. He recognises in this work the hand of the identical wood engraver who produced some of the cuts of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and several of the vignettes of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*. It is now well established, as our author stated it, contrary to the opinion of Heineken, that the original edition is that with the Dutch inscription, "Dit is die Voersinicheit," &c. of which a facsimile is to be found at the bottom of plate XXXIII (p. 219).

The description of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* extends from the Xth chapter over the rest of the volume, with the exception of the last part of chapter XIV, which treats of the costume found in other block-books, in sepulchral monuments, and illuminated manuscripts. No bibliographer had previously bestowed so



much pains on the description of this the most important of block-books, which shows in the same volume the transition of xylography to typography.

The four editions of the *Speculum*, ascribed to the Costerian press, do not contain the entire work as transmitted to us in numerous MSS. and which is composed of 45 chapters. After having enumerated the chapters of the book with their inscriptions, Mr. Ottley goes on to show that the engravings being printed with a rubber have a greater degree of clearness, and at the same time of softness, than can be attained in the ordinary way of printing. He discards the suggestion of Fournier and Koning that the 20 pages entirely engraved on wood may be the remains of an edition more ancient than all others, as well as the assumption of Heinecken that the vignettes and the text were perhaps engraved and printed at a very distant period from one another. This argument our author refutes by observing that the *costume* in the cuts of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* cannot justify our dating the designs from which they were copied earlier than towards the middle of the XVth century, and that the cuts were engraved from drawings prepared on purpose. Moreover he saw, what had escaped Heinecken, that the cuts beginning with the 49th page, were drawn by another designer, and engraved by a different wood engraver, inferior to the artists who executed the first 48 cuts, with the single exception of the story of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, of which the cut is equal to those at the beginning.

There can be no doubt that early Dutch printers knew from the beginning how to print on both sides of the paper, which is proved not only by the *Horarium* in the collection of M. Enschedé, but also by the copy of the Dutch *Speculum* at Lille, in which the

central sheet of the third gathering has text printed on both sides, although the woodcuts are printed on one side only. But if the ability of the printer to print on both sides is well established by this fact, as well as the printing of the two pages of text which occupy the same sheet, by one stroke of the press, it does not follow necessarily, as Mr. Ottley will have it, that the cuts were not rubbed off at the tops of the pages until after the text had been printed. The rubbing off the cuts may as well have preceded as followed the printing of the text. His theory about the pouring of melted lead, pewter, or other metal, into moulds of earth or plaster for the formation of the types of the *Speculum*, has been reproduced since by M. A. Bernard (30) and is certainly the most acceptable explanation of the variations which are to be found in the form of the same letter.

The eleventh chapter is devoted to the discussion of the order in which the four ancient editions of the *Speculum* were printed. Heineken had given the first place to the Latin edition with the 20 pages of engraved text; Meerman to the Dutch edition most rudely executed. The former was prompted in this by the idea that the block-books being of German origin, the first edition must have been in Latin, and not in Dutch language; the latter, wishing to prove that his own country had produced the first printed book, thought, on the contrary, that the first edition of the *Speculum* ought to have been Dutch. Mr. Ottley, by a clever and careful inspection of the cuts in the four editions, arrived at a conclusion which has been only recently considered as doubtful by MM. A. Bernard, Ch. Paeile, and myself, on the ground that the cuts having manifestly not been worked off simultaneously with the text, the accidents resulting from the rubbing off show the



order in which the cuts only were printed, and are not at all decisive as regards the printing of the text. However, our author after having established that breakages in the cuts of the Latin edition with 20 pages of text engraved on wood, are not to be found in the Dutch edition in Lord Spencer's library, states as follows the order of the four editions :—

*First.* The edition hitherto called “the second Latin,” with all the text in moveable types.

*Second.* That called “the second Dutch edition,” with two pages printed in smaller type.

*Third.* That called “the first Latin edition,” with 20 pages of text engraved on wood.

*Fourth.* That called by Meerman “the first Dutch edition,” with all the types of the same fount.

What brought Mr. Ottley almost positively to this conclusion was the state in which he found the Latin copy of the *Speculum*, which is still in the possession of John B. Inglis, Esq. This copy, perfect, in the finest condition, with the leaves neither pasted together nor injured by colouring, had the body of the scrolls untouched by the wood engraver, as shown in plate 17, while it is cut away in all the other copies which Mr. Ottley had seen, and I may add, in the fifteen others which I have seen myself in Holland as well as in England. No one can deny that Mr. Inglis's copy was the first printed, as regards the cuts ; and our author had no reason to doubt that the text was likewise the first printed, because he had not seen the copies of the *Speculum* which are in the National Library at Paris, where according to M. A. Bernard (<sup>31</sup>), the cuts of one of the Latin edition, with copies of engraved text, are in as good a condition as those of the Dutch edition in Lord Spencer's library.

This fact, which can easily be ascertained, proves at once that the cuts were printed neither simultaneously with the text, nor after it, nor in the same order in which the various editions were produced. The question at issue between Mr. Ottley and the French bibliographers, rests now on this point: were the cuts rubbed off after the printing of the text, and as the various editions were produced, or is it likely that after having invented printing in moveable types, the inventor retraced his way and took the trouble of engraving 20 pages of text which he could have printed so easily by the newly discovered process?

It may be said truly that until now the whole system of Mr. Ottley on this subject has never been submitted to the public, while the present book will afford the means of considering the question in all its possible bearings. It will be seen, by the collation of the two Latin editions, how painstaking, careful, and conscientious our author has been in his investigation of the block-books, and how little of importance has escaped his scrutiny.

M. A. Bernard (32), who knew only what occurs on the block-books in "An Inquiry on the Origin of Engraving," pays a due homage to Mr. Ottley, when he says, "Cet auteur ne s'est pas contenté d'étudier la partie typographique du *Speculum*; il en a scruté avec soin les gravures, et ses investigations scrupuleuses l'ont conduit à penser qu'elles avaient été exécutées, en grande partie du moins, par l'artiste auquel on doit celles de la *Bible des Pauvres*, et du *Livre des Cantiques*, qui sont généralement considérés comme les plus anciens livres Xylographiques." Such is indeed the pith and substance of the XIIth chapter, where our author compares together the three most interesting block-books. In the XIIIth chapter he shows that the four ancient editions of the *Speculum* were printed

in Holland, proving this by the character of the type and by the language in which the two vernacular editions were printed.

The costume of the *Speculum* now affords our author a very interesting subject, upon which he dwells with pleasure, inferring from it the probable age of the cuts and the period of their artistic composition. In order to form a more correct judgment on the matter, he called to his aid Sir Samuel Meyrick, who, besides being the possessor of a very curious and extensive collection of armour, had published a valuable work on the subject.

Sir Samuel did not hesitate to state that the wood-blocks of the *Speculum* were cut between the years 1430 and 1435, asserting that, next to actual dates, there is no criterion of age so sure as costume, which, changing on an average within every ten years, fixes the real period almost precisely. The letter of Sir Samuel Meyrick is very conclusive, and fairly settles this point, although Mr. Ottley does not go so far : “ If Dr. Meyrick’s opinion of the age of these cuts be well founded, and if it be also admitted as proved that they were done in Holland, then will it inevitably follow that typography was invented in Holland, and there will be an end to the controversy.” But such conclusion seems to him far from definitive ; the period between 1430 and 1435 is too short. Dr. Meyrick’s argument is applied more to England than to Holland ; some of his dates are inaccurate, and in consequence Mr. Ottley shows, by numerous illustrations taken from the *Speculum* and early MSS., reproduced in plates 11 to 18, with references to the following plates, that although the costume of the *Speculum* may be found in a period much longer than that fixed by Dr. Meyrick, nevertheless this period must be understood to extend more towards the end of the XIVth century than towards



the middle of the XVth. The military costumes of the Apocalypse, Biblia Pauperum, and Book of Canticles, reproduced in plates 19, and 19\*, are shown to be of a somewhat earlier character than that of the Speculum. The costumes reproduced from sepulchral monuments in plates 20, 21, and 22, prove by their near relation to the military costumes in the block-books the very period to which may be ascribed the drawing of the cuts of the Speculum. Specimens of costume taken from illuminated manuscripts, which fill plates 23, 24, 25, 26, afford new proofs of the cuts of the three chief block-books having been drawn at the beginning of the XVth century. The various specimens of costume given in plate 27 were drawn by Mr. Ottley himself in 1829, from a Book of Prayers belonging to the Abbé Flamand, the principal librarian of the Royal Library at the Hague, and three other MSS. two Dutch and one French. The costumes of plate 28 are borrowed from the MS. presented to Margaret of Anjou upon her marriage in 1443 with Henry VI, by John Talbot, the great Earl of Shrewsbury. The figures of plate 29 were drawn: No. 1, from the French MS. "Roman de Troy," No. 2, from the French MS. "Miracles of our Lady," both in the Douce Collection at Oxford, where Mr. Ottley went to examine the old MSS. The figures in plate 30 are taken from another French MS. written for Edward IV, King of England, and most probably at Bruges, early in his reign.

Plate 35, taken from an undescribed block-book in the possession of Mr. J. Lilly, is illustrative of the military costume at the end of the XVth century, showing the difference between that and those found in the Speculum, MSS. of the previous century, and sepulchral monuments of the same period. The age of this fine specimen of wood engraving, equal, if not superior to the wood-cuts



Zu der Abessin zeit Christus vor Anna.







of Albert Dürer, although from an unknown master, may be ascribed to the end of the XVth century, by the fact that another engraving of the same block-book has been introduced in a German publication of Johann Knoblauch, at Strasburg, in 1509, fol.

The conclusion which our author draws principally from the military costumes introduced in early MSS. of the XVth or previous century, compared with those in the block-books, was of more direct importance twenty-five years ago than it is now for the solution of the question at issue between Holland and Germany. The highest German authorities on iconographical or bibliographical matters, do not any longer deny that the oldest editions of the *Biblia Pauperum*, *Canticum Canticorum*, and *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, are of Dutch origin, and much more ancient than was granted by Heineken, La Serna Santander, and other partisans of the Mentz proto-typographers. So far then Mr. Ottley's investigations on the costume of the first quarter of the XVth century are but the confirmation of a point which may be considered as definitively settled. But as a general criterion of dates in works of art, such investigations are extremely valuable and of the highest interest for the antiquarian.

The plates 33 and 34 show the relation of the types of the *Speculum* to those of the *Donatuses*, which are said to have been the first work of Laurenz Coster. The three different editions from which the specimens are taken were evidently printed in the same town and by the same printer, and the types bear so strong an analogy to those of the *Speculum*, that a common origin can scarcely be denied to them. Now arises the question, What became of Coster's types? Were they ever used by anybody but himself?

If not, why? Mr. Ottley has suggested that there was some peculiarity in their formation. The type and the mode of setting it up differed from the more perfect contrivances of Schoeffer. Did they become useless after his invention? Now, supposing Coster to have printed at a late date, say after 1457, when Fust and Schoeffer put their names to their works, might not Coster have done the same, or at least have given a colophon showing where and when he printed? But he was dead long before (in 1439), and if his successors somewhat improved his invention, the works which they published were not numerous nor important enough to call for a colophon. The works which may almost to a certainty be ascribed to the Costerian press after the death of the inventor, and the publication of the *Speculum*, are various editions of the *Donatus*, *Catonis Disticha*, *Laurentii Vallensis Facecie Morales*, *Ludovici Pontani de Roma Singularia in Causis Criminalibus*, *Gulielmus de Saliceto de Salute Corporis*, *Horarium*, *Alexandri Galli Doctrinale*, *Petri Hispani Tractatus*, *Francisci Petrarchae de Salibus Virorum Illustrium*, et *Faceciis Tractatus*, &c., all of which are without date or name of printer, but are issued from the same press, and the types of which, perfectly like those in the *Speculum*, cannot be attributed by any such similarity to any other printing office either in Germany or even in Holland and the Low Countries.

In support of the cause he had so warmly embraced, Mr. Ottley intended perhaps to expatiate at some length on the paper marks, which are to be seen in plate 31, and of which he had amassed a large collection, having even been authorised to take off the blank leaves from the books preserved in the public archives of the Hague. But the memory of our author will lose nothing by his having left to another the barren and very useless task of following

Koning in his attempts to give a ridiculously exaggerated importance to the paper marks of the XVth century. Koning, and several other Dutch writers after him, assume indeed that all the paper of early books was manufactured in Brabant, and from Antwerp sent to all parts of Europe. Of this they give no other proof than some rash assertions which our author himself has fairly refuted, pp. 160 and 162 of the present volume.

Antwerp being at this time in active commercial relations with Venice, the paper might have come as well from Italy as from any place in Brabant or Germany. The varieties of marks which are to be found in the same volume, sometimes amounting to twenty and more, as in the British Museum copy of the "*Speculum Exemplorum*, Deventer, R. Paffroed, 1481, fol.," sufficiently show that the Antwerp traders, after having received the paper from different and very likely distant points, mixed together the analogous products of several paper mills, before sending them to the printers or copyists who were to make use of them. Such a practice was indeed so general that scarcely any book of the XVth century printed in Holland is to be found with the same paper mark throughout.

It is quite certain that in this Inquiry Mr. Ottley shows a determined inclination to favour the claims of Laurenz Coster to the invention of typography; but since his death the cause of Haerlem has gained staunch friends even in England, while France seems almost entirely converted to it, as may be seen from the writings of MM. Léon de Laborde, Paul Lacroix, Auguste Bernard, and Charles Paeile. Therefore the publication of the present work is a very fair opportunity for English bibliographers to revise the judgment pronounced against Coster by writers who had but a very imperfect knowledge of the researches and discoveries made



by our author, and which are for the first time in their *ensemble* submitted to the eyes of the learned and curious, who take a lively interest in the origin of, by far, the greatest invention of modern times : THE DIVINE ART OF PRINTING.

J. P<sup>H</sup>. BERJEAU.

LIST AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES,  
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### BOOKS REFERRED TO IN THE INTRODUCTION.

- (1) Paul Lacroix. *Le Moyen-Age et la Renaissance*. Paris, 4to.
- (2) Count L. de Laborde. *Débuts de l'Imprimerie à Mayence et à Strasbourg*, Paris, 1840, 8vo.
- (3) Aug. Bernard. *De l'Origine et des Débuts de l'Imprimerie en Europe*. Paris, 1853, 8vo.
- (4) Ch. Paeile. *Essai Historique et Critique sur l'Invention de l'Imprimerie*. Paris-Lille, 1859, 8vo.
- (5) Hadriani Junii. *Batavia, Lugduni Batav.* 1588, 4to.
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- (9) J. Koning. *Vorhandlung over den Oorsprung der Boekdrukkunst*. Harlem, 1816, 8vo.
- (10) A. de Vries. *Eclaircissements sur l'Histoire de l'Invention de l'Imprimerie*. La Haye, 1843, 8vo.
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- (12) J. W. Holtrop. *Catalogus Librorum Sæc. XV. impressorum in Bibl. Regia Hagana*. Hagæ-Comit. 1856, 8vo.
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- (14) W. Y. Ottley. *An Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving*. London, 1816, 4to.
- (15) G. Meerman. *Origines Typographicæ*, Vol. ii. pp. 10 and ss.



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- (18) *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, Le plus ancien Monument de la Xylographie et de la Typographie réunies reproduit en fac-simile avec Introduction Historique et Bibliographique, par J. Ph. Berjeau. Londres, 1861, fol.
- (19) Ch. Paeile. *Essai Hist. et Crit.* p. 194.
- (20) Carl van Mander. *Schilderboeck*. Harlem, 1604, 4to.
- (21) Heinecken. *Idée Générale d'une Collection d'Estampes*. Leipzig-Vienne, 1771, 8vo.
- (22) F. A. Ebert. *Hermes*, Leipzig, 1823, part IV. p. 64.
- (23) La Serna Santander. *Dictionnaire Bibliographique choisi du XVe siècle*. Bruxelles, An XIII.
- (24) Lambinet. *Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie*. Bruxelles, An VII. 8vo.
- (25) Had. Junius, Batavia. *Lugd. Batav.* 1588, 4to.
- (26) J. Koning. *Dissertation sur l'Origine, l'Invention, et le Perfectionnement de l'Imprimerie*, Amsterdam, 1819, 8vo.
- (27) L. de Laborde. *La plus ancienne gravure du Cabinet des Estampes est-elle la plus ancienne ?* Paris, 1840, 8vo.
- (28) J. Renouvier. *Histoire de l'Origine et des Progrès de la Gravure dans les Pays-bas et en Allemagne*. Bruxelles, 1860, 8vo. p. 21.
- (29) Jackson and Chatto. *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*. London, 1839, 8vo.
- (30) A. Bernard. *Origine de l'Imprimerie*, Vol. I. p. 40.
- (31) ————— (Ibid ) Vol. I. p. 28.
- (32) ————— (Ibid.) Vol. I. p. 53.

AN INQUIRY  
CONCERNING  
THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

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CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE METHOD PURSUED  
IN THIS WORK.

THE following work contains an account of researches, prosecuted at intervals during the last twenty years, upon the Origin of Printing, with a view to ascertain, if possible, whether the claims of Holland to the honour of that Invention be, really, well, or ill founded.

The cause of my having employed so much of my time in this way, was in great measure accidental. In the year 1814, I was deeply engaged in a work, published two years afterwards, upon the Origin and early History of Engraving on Wood and in Copper. In the course of my inquiries concerning the former mode, (which, as every one knows, is generally believed to have given rise to the invention of printing,) my attention was of course directed to those ancient books of Wood Engravings, which are well known to bibliographers under the appellation of Block-Books. The '*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*,' so celebrated in the annals of typographical controversy, is commonly classed with these: and, in turning over and comparing two of the Editions of this work, I chanced one day to make a dis-

covery, which seemed to put the above question in a very different point of view, from that in which it had been regarded by most late writers; and convinced me that, whether true to the extent insisted upon by the advocates for Holland, or not, *the Tradition, that Printing was used in that country at a very early period, and that a printer of Haerlem, in the fifteenth century was robbed of his type*, does not merit to be treated, as it commonly has been by the writers of the adverse party, as a mere fable.

In further prosecuting this Inquiry, I have endeavoured to bring to bear on the subject, various kinds of evidence, not resorted to, and perhaps not thought of, by previous writers; and I flatter myself that, in consequence, I have been enabled, in not a few instances, to clear up doubtful points; to prove the falsehood of opinions, until now generally held to be true; and to establish, incontrovertibly, the truth of some facts, at least, which have heretofore been denied, or contested.

The scantiness of positive testimony bearing upon the subject, has made it necessary for me to go into numerous minute details of circumstantial evidence, of various kinds, the perusal of which may prove irksome to a large class of general readers. But I cannot help it; for, as I went along, I have felt more and more convinced, that, without this extreme nicety of examination, I should be obliged, like all my predecessors in the controversy, (I speak as well of those who have written on the one side as on the other,) to deal far more largely in assertion than in proof, and, in place of facts and fair deductions drawn from them, to have recourse too often to mere conjecture and hypothesis; in short, that without this nice sifting of the evidence, the cause could never be brought to an end, and rightly adjudicated. I do not mean to say that these writers did not, in a great measure, found their opinions and their arguments upon what they believed to be facts; but that they admitted the genuineness of what they supposed to be facts, without due examination; that in many cases their supposed facts are the reverse of the truth; and that, thus arguing upon unsound premises, they have been often led to false conclusions.



But this is not all : for with every desire on my part to believe, that intentional misrepresentation never directed the pen of any one of them ; that the desire to overthrow an opponent never prompted him to the suppression of a fact which he was aware would make against him, or to the production of one which, though specious, he knew not to be true ; still I am obliged to say, that some of the learned who have taken part in this dispute seem to have allowed a wide range to their imaginations ; and that others appear to have forgotten, that, in an attempt to discover truth, the avenues of the mind ought to be kept open, for the reception and due ballancing of whatever evidence may chance to offer ; whether its tendency should seem to be in favour of the inquirer's pre-conceived opinions, or against them. I admit that it is difficult to abstain from forming an opinion, on one side or the other, even at an early stage of any inquiry ; but the ' *aude alteram partem* ' ought ever to be borne in mind ; and if the enquirer, in the course of his examinations and researches, should chance to discover that a fact of importance, on which he had relied, is not true ; and that another, which he at first disbelieved, is well founded, it will certainly become him to review his pre-conceived opinion, and see whether, after the subtraction from the one side, and the addition to the other, the weight of proof do not lie on that side which he before thought the lightest. Should this not be the case : should that side still preponderate which did so before, it must necessarily do so in a smaller degree, and the sides will be more nearly ballanced. But, should a second and a third fact, which he relied on, prove to be false, and others, which he disbelieved, prove to be true, he cannot but then begin to doubt the correctness of his first judgment ; and if he possess the candour which is indispensable to impartial inquiry, he will henceforth prosecute his researches under the banner of truth, little caring which way she lead him.

It would have been very possible for me to give, in a few pages, the general results of the inquiries which I have prosecuted upon the subject of the Origin of Printing during so many years, and the opinions I have come to in consequence ; and to have made my book



a pamphlet, instead of a quarto; but I have been withheld from adopting this course by considerations such as I find thus expressed in the work<sup>1</sup> of a late writer.

“ The opinions of an author derive weight from his character, knowledge, and celebrity; but his arguments ought to be weighed by their intrinsic perspicuity and solidity alone. A person, after a long investigation into any disputed doctrine, has no right to expect that he shall also convince others of the conclusions he has come to, by laying before them a mere summary of his labours, however satisfied he may be of it himself. It is not enough ably to support a doctrine; but every opposing one must be shewn to be wrong, in order to ensure conviction, even with those who are open to it. Were any of the plausible arguments of an opposite tendency omitted to be examined, some of them might ultimately impose on those who are apt to form their ideas, either from the researches or gratuitous opinions of others, whom they may think more learned than themselves.”

I have, therefore, thought it advisable to commence this work, by laying before the reader the chief historical testimony existing in favour of the claims of Holland, and a few of the principal documents relating to Guttenberg; accompanying them with such remarks as to me seem reasonable. An acquaintance with these, will render the reader the better qualified to judge of the value of the arguments that follow: for I purpose, in the next place, to shew the state of the controversy, as it appeared when I first chanced to engage in it. To this end, it will be sufficient to pass in review the statements advanced, and the arguments mainly relied on, by one or two of the chief writers on either side, as Meerman on the side of Haerlem, and Heinecken and Santander, on that of Mentz; though, in order to make the balance equal, I shall also give a brief analysis of the work of the late Mr. Koning of Amsterdam, which appeared about the same time as my own former work, or soon afterwards, and which, I need not say, advocated the cause of his country. In doing all this,

<sup>1</sup> “ On Life and Death,” by a Layman. (Alex. Copeland, Esq. Advocate, Aberdeen.)

I shall use my best endeavours, to detect and expose false or exaggerated statements and deceitful arguments, come from whom they may ; leaving such good proofs, and reasonable grounds of belief, on the one side or the other, as may then remain, to be incorporated afterwards with such further proofs as have resulted from my own researches. Lastly, although in the remaining part of my work, I may sometimes insist strenuously upon conclusions, which appear to follow inevitably from facts which I think well proved, I shall strive to merit the praise of not overstating the evidence one way or the other, and of not pressing an argument further than it will fairly go ; it being my sole object to come, if possible, at the truth, in this long disputed question.

## CHAPTER II.

### TESTIMONIES IN FAVOUR OF THE PRETENSIONS OF HOLLAND.

#### *The Statement of Ulric Zell, in the Cologne Chronicle, printed 1499.*

ULRIC ZELL, in the colophons of two small works printed by him and dated in the years 1466 and 1467,<sup>2</sup> styles himself a clerk of the diocese of Mentz. It was by him that the art of printing was first introduced into Cologne; there seems to be no doubt that he had learned it, directly, from the first Mentz printers; and we may therefore reasonably conclude that he was well informed of its early history. I think there is reason to believe, that he printed at least as early as 1460. At fol. 311, of the Cologne Chronicle, Johan. Koelhoff, the printer, gives the following account of the invention upon his authority :

*“ Of the Printing of Books, and when, and by whom, this Art was discovered, of which the utility cannot be too highly appreciated, &c.*

“ Item : This most important art was first found out in Germany, at Mentz on the Rhyne. And it is a great honour to the German nation that such ingenious men were found in it. This took place about the year of our Lord M.CCCC.XL., and from that time to the year L. this art and whatever appertains to it were rendered more perfect. And in the year M.CCCC.L. which was a jubilee year, they began to print; and the first book that was printed was the Bible in Latin, and it was printed with larger characters than those which are now used for printing Missals. Item : Although this art, as we have said, was found out at Mentz, in the way in which it is now commonly used; nevertheless, the prototype of it (*‘vurbildung,’ ‘praefiguratio,’*) was found in Holland, in THE DONATUSES (*den Donaten*) which had been before printed

<sup>2</sup> VIZ. “ *Joh. Crisostimus super psalmo quinquagesimo,*” and “ *Augustinus de Singularitate Clericorum;*” both in small 4to. The first of these appears to be less generally known than the second; the date, in both, is printed in words at length.



there ; and it is from and out of these, that the beginning of this art was taken. And this manner has been found much more masterly and subtle than that which before existed, and it has become more and more ingenious. Item : A person named Omnibonus writes in the preface to Quinctilian, and in other books, that a certain Frenchman, called Nicolas Genson, first discovered this important art ; which is clearly not true. For there are persons now living, who can attest, that books were printed at Venice before Nicolas Genson went there, and began to sculpture and set up type. But the first inventor of printing was a citizen of Mentz, born at Strasburg, called Johan. Gudenburch, Gentleman. Item : From Mentz, the said art was first carried to Cologne, then to Strasburg, and then to Venice. The commencement and progress of this art has been told me expressly, by word of mouth, by the revered master Ulrich Tzell of Hanault, the printer, still living at Cologne, in the present year mccccxcix, by whom the art was first brought to Cologne. Item : There are ill-informed persons, who say that books were printed in more ancient times ; but that is contrary to the truth, as in no country are books to be found printed in those times."

Great pains have been taken by the writers on the side of Mentz, in order to get rid of the force of this document ; which, though it be written in some parts with little care in the choice of words, says very clearly, that *about the year 1440, John Guttenberg took the idea of the Invention of Printing from seeing certain small grammars, called Donatuses, which, before that time, had been printed in Holland : that these were the prototype of his invention ; and that from and out of these, the beginning of the art was taken.* The only question can be, whether Zell intended to speak of these Donatuses as having been printed from engraved blocks of wood, or with moveable characters ; for he is certainly not so explicit as he might have been upon this head. I infer from the context, that he meant to say they were printed in the latter method ; and it is certainly much in favour of this supposition, that numerous fragments of Donatuses, apparently of great antiquity, have been found in Holland, which, from the form of the characters, there is good reason to believe were printed in that country, and which bear undoubted marks of having been printed with moveable type. I will not, however, insist further upon this ;



since, according to Trithemius,<sup>3</sup> who had his information from Schoeffer, the first book that was printed by Guttenberg and Fust, was printed by them from engraved blocks of wood; whence it may be conjectured that Guttenberg, at first, thought the Dutch Donatuses had been printed in that manner.

*The testimony of Mariangelus Accursius: (circ 1510?)*

This gentleman is said to have been a Neapolitan, and we learn from Condivi, in his life of Michelangiolo Buonarroti, that, when a young man, he was much in the confidence of Pope Julius II. In the latter part of his life he resided in Germany, and was in favour at the Court of the Emperor Charles V. Angelo Rocca, in the Appendix to the Account of the Vatican Library printed at Rome in 1591 (pag. 410), relates that the younger Aldus once shewed him a *Donatus* printed on parchment, on the first page of which was written as follows:

“Johan. Faust, a citizen of Mentz, the maternal grandfather of Johan Schoeffer, first found out the art of printing with types of brass, for which he afterwards substituted those of lead; his son-in-law, Peter Schoeffer, greatly assisting him in perfecting the art. But this *Donatus* and *Confessionalia* was first of all printed in the year 1450. It is certain that he took the idea from a *Donatus*, which had been before printed from engraved wooden blocks in Holland.” [Then came the name of the writer] “Haec scripsit Mariangelus Accursius.”

Rocca observes that the book was printed in large characters, and in somewhat a rude manner. He further informs us that *the types used by the inventors of printing were perforated, and connected together by a thread which was passed through them; of which, he says, he remembers to have seen specimens at Venice.*

It will not be denied that this memorandum of Accursius, coming, as it does, from so distant a part as Italy, is good evidence of a belief,

<sup>3</sup> The fullest, and apparently the most veracious accounts we have, of the Invention of Printing at Mentz, are those of Ulric Zell and Trithemius: that of the latter, will be given hereafter.

somewhat generally existing in his time, that the first Mentz printers took the idea of the art, which they perfected, from the small grammars which had been previously printed in Holland. It is true that he speaks of *a Donatus, printed in Holland from engraved blocks*; whilst Zell speaks of these old grammars in the *plural number, and without distinctly specifying in what manner they were printed*. The first part of Accursius' testimony is decidedly corroborative of Zell's. For the rest, neither the period nor the country in which Accursius lived, gave him the same opportunities of acquiring exact information upon the subject, as had been possessed by the old Mentz clerk, who first carried the art of printing to Cologne.

*Portraits printed from engraved blocks, circ. 1510, of Laurent Janssoen, and of various ancient artists of Haerlem.*

I venture to place these wood-cuts among the ancient testimonies in favour of the claims of Haerlem, notwithstanding the terms in which they are spoken of by Heinecken.

"We have," says he, (*Idée Générale*, p. 201) "some pieces which are attributed to *Laurence Coster*. Although they are engraved in wood by some one who has thought to deceive Amateurs, by imitating the character of antiquity; I will nevertheless specify them in this place, in order to gratify those curious persons who are unacquainted with them.

"No. 1. A small bust of a man in a bonnet, about two inches high and one wide, inscribed: *Laur<sup>9</sup> Jāssōē*. This I suppose is the portrait of Coster.

"2. Another small bust of an old man in profile, about two inches high by one and three quarters wide; inscribed at bottom *Valckart Seil vā Harlēm*.

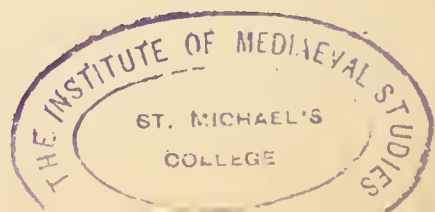
"3. Another, similar, turned towards the left; marked *Jā Dadin v̄ har*. [Heinecken should I believe have said *Jan Mandin*.]

"4. Another bust, in a three quarters point of view, marked in the ground on the left, *L.* and at bottom, *hugo Jacob<sup>9</sup> soē v̄ Lied*.

"5. Another, with the inscription: *Jan vā hemsē Scilder v̄ hærłm*.

"6. Another, marked *Alb. v̄. Ouāt<sup>9</sup> Scild. tot hærłē*.

"7. Another, marked *J. v. Mercken*, which Heinecken observes to be "a name unknown." [In his Dictionary of Engravers, however, where he repeats this list, he writes the name, *J. v. Mecken*.]





Five of these portraits are mentioned by Mr. Koning, in his Dissertation on the Origin of Printing;<sup>4</sup> viz. the 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th and 6th, and of the first and last he has given careful copies in his fourth plate. He observes that,

“ *Albert van Ouwater, Jan van Hemsen, Jan Mandin and Volkert the son of Nicolas*, were all painters of Haerlem of the fifteenth century; and, consequently, the fellow-townsmen and contemporaries of the Inventor of Typography. The antiquity of these prints,” he adds, “ will not be questioned by any unprejudiced connoisseur; since the style of the workmanship, and the letters sufficiently prove it. Heinecken indeed asserts, that they were engraved for the purpose of deceiving the antiquaries, but without adducing any reason for the remark; and in truth, the very inexact manner in which he describes the inscriptions upon them,<sup>5</sup> sufficiently shews that he never saw the originals. The portrait of *Laurent Janssoen*,” continues Koning, “ as he is represented in this print, is quite conformable to that which we see in two prints which were published in the beginning of the seventeenth century by Adrien Roman, as well as to an ancient picture which was preserved at that time in the collection of the antiquary Van Damme at Amsterdam.<sup>6</sup> And how comes the portrait of *Laurent Janssoen* in company with those of the above painters? It could not have been because of his office of sacristan, or of his other public employments; there must, therefore, have been another reason, and the most probable one appears to be, that, as the Inventor of Printing, he was thought justly entitled to a place among the most celebrated artists.”

From the manner in which Mr. Koning expresses himself of these wood-cuts, it would appear that he considered them as performances of the *fifteenth century*. Having, during a short visit to Amsterdam in the autumn of 1829, had the opportunity of examining the original impressions of three or four of them, in the possession of that gentleman, I must declare my dissent from such an opinion, though I agree

<sup>4</sup> ‘Dissertation sur l’Origine, l’invention, et perfectionnement de l’Imprimerie,’ Amsterd. 1819, 8vo. pp. 79, 80.

<sup>5</sup> As far as I have been able, I have corrected these errors in Heinecken’s list.

<sup>6</sup> *Mr. Koning* has given an etching of this old portrait in his ‘*Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Boekdrukkunst*,’ Haerlem, 1818. 8vo. It is, as he says, very like the old wood-cut.



with him that they bear no marks of forgery. One of them indeed, that of *Jan van Hemsen*, appeared to me to bear the date MCCCCCX. (the last numeral doubtful); and the style of the whole of them, and the forms of the characters, reminded me so strongly of the numerous wood-engravings of *Jacob Corneliszoon*, an eminent artist of Amsterdam, who flourished at this time, and whose prints have been attributed erroneously by Heineken, Strutt, and others, to Jan Walther van Assen, a person who perhaps never had existence, as to incline me to believe that they are by his hand.

If I am right in my opinion of the date of these small portraits, they must be admitted as good evidence, that, in the beginning of the xvth century, the names of the individuals they profess to represent, and among the rest that of *Laurent Janssoen*, were still fresh in the remembrance of the people of Holland.

*The Testimony of Jan Van Zuyren, 1549-1561.*

Jan Van Zuyren was born in 1517, and died in 1591, and is spoken of as a man of ability. In 1560 or 61, he joined with Coonhert, presently to be further noticed, in establishing a new printing office at Haerlem. He filled the office of Scabinus in that city, from the year 1549 to 1561, when he was advanced to the dignity of Burgo-master. During the time of his being Scabinus, he wrote a treatise in Latin, upon the invention of printing, in the form of a dialogue between himself and his son. The body of the work is lost, but some passages of the Dedicatory Preface remain, which were printed by Sriverius. There is a fine dignified portrait of him by Goltzius.

After disclaiming every wish to derogate from the honours justly due to Mentz; he says :

“ It is from the love of my country alone, that I undertake this work, and that I institute further inquiries upon the subject of it; as I cannot consent that our claims to a portion of this glory; *claims which are even at this day fresh in the remembrance of our fathers, to whom, so to express myself, they have been transmitted from hand to hand from their ancestors*, should be effaced from the memory of men, and be buried in eternal oblivion; claims of which it is our duty to preserve the memorial, for the benefit of our latest posterity.

“ The city of Mentz, without doubt, merits great praise, for having been the first to produce and publish to the world, in a becoming garb, an invention which she had received from us ; for having perfected and embellished an art, as yet rude and unformed. Who, indeed, (although it be less difficult to add to an invention already made, than to originate a new one) would withhold the praises and honour due to a city, to which all the world considers itself in a particular manner indebted for so great a benefit ?

“ For the rest, excellent Sir, you may consider it as certain, that *the foundations of this splendid art were laid in our city of Haerlem, rudely, indeed, but still the first.* Here, (be it understood without offence to the people of Mentz) the art of Typography was born and saw the light, with all her members formed, so that she might hereafter encrease in strength and stature. Here, she for a long time received the treatment and the cares which it is customary to use towards tender infancy ; and *for a long series of years was confined within the walls of a private dwelling-house, which, though somewhat dilapidated, is still standing ; but which has long since been despoiled of its precious contents.* The art of Printing, indeed, was here brought up, nourished, and maintained at small expense, and with too great parsimony ; until at length, despising the poor and confined appearance of her humble abode, she became the companion of a certain stranger ; and, leaving behind her native meanness, shewed herself publickly at Mentz, where after having become enriched, she in a short time rose to eminence,” &c.

*The testimony of Theodore Volckart Coornhert, Anno 1561.*

Coornhert was born in 1522, and excelled both as a writer and an artist. His masterly engravings after Heemskerck, are well known. Having established a printing office at Haerlem, in company with Van Zuyren, he in the year 1561, printed a Dutch translation of Cicero's Offices ; in the dedication of which, to the Magistracy of Haerlem, he expresses himself to the following effect :

“ Most honourable and revered Sirs ; it has often been related to me, bonâ fide, that the most useful art of Typography was originally invented in our city of Haerlem, although in somewhat a rude manner ; for it is easier to perfect by degrees an art already discovered, than to invent a new one.<sup>7</sup> This art, having been *afterwards carried to Mentz by an unfaithful servant*, was there

<sup>7</sup> I think it evident from this passage, that Coornhert had seen the treatise of his friend Van Zuyren ; which was probably written some years before.



perfected; and as it was also first promulgated there, that city has so generally acquired the reputation of having first invented it, that our citizens can obtain but little credence, when they assert themselves to have been the real inventors; a fact generally believed by the greater number of them, and, especially, considered as undoubted by our most ancient citizens. I am aware that, in consequence of the blameable neglect of our ancestors, the common opinion that this art was invented at Mentz, is now so firmly established, that it is in vain to hope to change it, even by the best evidence, and the most irrefragable proof. But truth does not cease to be truth, because it is known only to a few; and I, for my part *believe this to be most certain; convinced, as I am, by the faithful testimonies of men, alike respectable from their age and authority; who not only have often told me of the family of the inventor, and of his name and surname; but have even described to me the rude manner of printing first used, and pointed out to me with their fingers the abode of the first printer.* And therefore, not because I am jealous of the glory of others, but because I love truth, and desire to pay that tribute to the honour of our city which is justly her due, I have thought it incumbent upon me to mention these things," &c.

*Ludovico Guicciardini, in his description of the Low Countries, in Italian, printed at Antwerp in 1567.*

Guicciardini is said to have completed this work in the year 1565. Speaking of Haerlem (p. 180), he says:

"According to the common tradition of the inhabitants, and the assertion of the other natives of Holland, as well as the testimony of certain authors and other records, it appears that the art of printing and stamping letters and characters on paper, in the manner now used, was first invented in this place. But the author of the invention happening to die, before the art was brought to perfection and had acquired repute, his servant, they say, went to reside at Mentz; where, giving proofs of his knowledge in that science, he was joyfully received; and where, he having applied himself to the business with unremitting diligence, it was brought to entire perfection, and became at length generally known: in consequence of which, the fame afterwards spread abroad and became general," (*'e inveterata la fama'*) "that the art and science of printing originated in that city. What the truth really is, I am not able, nor will I take upon me, to decide; it sufficing me to have said these few words, that I might not be guilty of injustice to this town and this country."



*Hadrian Junius, in his work entitled 'Batavia,' printed in 1588.*

Hadrian Junius, was born at Hoorn, in 1511, and is said to have been educated at a classical school of repute at Haerlem. He soon showed himself a person of ability; and, having embraced the medical profession, was appointed physician to the Duke of Norfolk, and afterwards to the King of Denmark. He is said to have taken up his abode in Haerlem in 1560, and to have resided there till 1572, when he quitted it, upon the occasion of the siege of that city. Lypsius considered him as the most learned man of Holland, after Erasmus. He commenced his work, entitled 'Batavia,' towards the latter part of his life; completed it, it appears, in January, 1575, and died on the 16th of June in the same year, at Middlebourg. His book was not printed till 1588. His account of the origin of printing is supposed, from the context, to have been written in the year 1568.

"I now come," says Junius, "to our city of Haerlem, to which justly belongs the glory of having invented the Art of Printing," &c. He then indulges in a long and eloquent exordium, which he ends by assuring us, that "what he is about to relate, he had received from persons at once in the highest degree respectable from their age and rank in life; as well as from the offices of dignity which they had held in the state; and who had assured him that the same had been related to them by their fathers, as an account worthy of the most entire belief."

"It is now an hundred and twenty-eight years ago," he says, "since there lived in a handsome house in the market-place at Haerlem, opposite the royal palace, and which still exists entire, Lawrence John, surnamed Coster, from the honourable office of Sacristan to the great church, which was hereditary in his family. Such is the man to whom justly belongs the glorious title of the inventor of printing, &c. This person," he tells us, "during his afternoon walks in the vicinity of the city, amused himself with cutting letters out of the bark of the beech-tree; and with these, the letters being inverted, as in seals, he printed small sentences for the future instruction of his grandchildren. That, succeeding in this, he began to meditate the application of his new art upon a more extensive scale; that, finding the ink then commonly used apt to spread, he, with the help of his son-in-law, Thomas the son of Peter, invented ink of a more glutinous kind, with which he succeeded in

printing entire pages with cuts and letter-press. That he, Junius, had seen specimens of this kind, printed on one side of the paper only, in a book entitled ‘*Speculum Nostrae Salutis*,’ written by an anonymous writer in the Dutch language ; the blank pages being pasted together, that the leaves might turn over, like those of an ordinary book, without shewing the vacancies. That afterwards Lawrence made his letters of lead instead of wood ; and lastly of pewter, finding that metal harder, and consequently more proper for the purpose ; and that various drinking-cups, made of the remains of this old type, were still preserved in the aforesaid house, where, but a few years before, Gerard the son of Thomas, the great-grandson of the inventor, had died at an advanced age.” He goes on to say, “ that the invention in question meeting with encouragement, it became necessary to augment the number of hands employed ; which circumstance proved the first cause of disaster to the new establishment ; for that one of the workmen, named John, (whom Junius seems to suspect might have been Fust, for he does not absolutely accuse him) as soon as he had made himself sufficiently master of the art of casting the type, and joining the characters, &c. (notwithstanding he had taken an oath of secrecy) took the earliest opportunity of robbing his master of the implements of his art ; choosing for the completion of his purpose, the night preceding the feast of the Nativity, when the whole family, with the rest of the inhabitants of the city, were at church, hearing midnight mass. That he escaped with his booty to Amsterdam, thence to Cologne, and, lastly, that he took up his residence at Mentz, where he established his printing press ; from which, within the following year 1442, was put forth a grammatical work entitled, ‘*Alexandri Galli Doctrinale*,’ which, like another entitled ‘*Petri Hispani Tractatus*,’ was in much estimation in those days, and which was printed with the same type that had been before used by Lawrence at Haerlem.”

This account, Junius assures us, “ he had received from various aged men of the highest respectability, who had received it from others of equal credit, as a well-founded tradition ; as a lighted torch,” says he, “ is passed from one hand to another, without being extinguished.”

He adds, “ that he remembers that Nicholas Galius, the instructor of his youth, a man venerable from his gray hairs, and remarkable for the strength of his memory, related to him, that when he was a boy, he had more than once heard one Cornelius, then an old man of eighty, (who had been a book-binder, and in his youth had been an assistant (‘*sub-ministrum*’) in the Haerlem printing office,) describe, with great earnestness, the history of the invention



and its gradual improvements, as they had been told him by his master : upon which occasions he would even shed tears ; especially when he came to the story of the robbery, committed by one of the workmen ; which he related with great vehemence ; cursing those nights in which, as he said, he had for months together slept in the same bed with so vile a miscreant ; and protesting that he could, with the utmost pleasure, execute the thief with his own hands, if he had been still alive : which account” Junius tells us, “agreed with that which Quirinus Talesius, the Burgomaster, confessed to him he had heard from the mouth of the same old bookbinder.”

I shall hereafter, of course, offer some remarks upon the above narrative of Junius, and upon the other written testimonies in favour of Haerlem. At present I shall only observe, that Meerman appears to me not to be justified in giving, as he has done, the whole of Junius’s account, as the testimony of Cornelius the bookbinder. The testimony of this old man, it seems clear, occupies only the latter part of it ; and was added by Junius, upon recollection of what Galius had told him formerly, as a supplement to what he had been able to collect from aged persons of Haerlem, living when he wrote.

This Cornelius, it appears certain, was no imaginary personage : mention of him, as bookbinder, occurring in the accounts of the great church at Haerlem, in the years 1474, 1487, 1495, 1500, 1507, 1508, 1510, 1512 and 1515 : besides which, Mr. Koning found an entry, stating that he was buried in the said church in the year 1522, and that his funeral cost 20 florins.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Koning*, “ *Dissertation sur l’Origine de l’Imprimerie*,” p. 135.



### CHAPTER III.

#### THE STRASBURG PROCESS, ANNO 1439, BETWEEN JOH. GUTTENBERG AND THE HEIRS OF ANDREW DRITZEHEN.

THIS document relates to a partnership, which had been entered into three years before its date, between Joh. Guttenberg and three individuals of Strasburg : Joh. Riffe, Andrew Heilman, and Andrew Dritzehen. It would appear, that Joh. Riffe had been connected with Guttenberg, previously ; and that the two others were admitted into the partnership, upon paying, each, a premium to Guttenberg ; who in consideration thereof was to instruct them in *certain secret arts*, which were afterwards to be carried on for their mutual benefit. Andrew Dritzehen died ; and his two brothers, George and Nicolas Dritzehen, desired to be taken into the partnership in his stead : this was refused by Guttenberg, and they in consequence brought this action, in order to get back from Guttenberg the premium which their defunct brother had paid, and his share of the profits.

This process was first published in 1760, by Schöpflin, in his “*Vindiciæ Typographicæ*,” together with a Latin translation ; and was afterwards given by Meerman in his “*Origines*.” The original is written in a sort of Low German, and contains, here and there, words now no longer in use ; besides which, many of the others are spelt so differently from the modern usage, as to render various parts of it somewhat difficult to understand. The Latin of Schöpflin, is by no means a faithful translation of the original text. Upon comparing them together, in certain parts which have been supposed to relate to Printing, it is immediately seen that he was not very scrupulous ; and that he had persuaded himself that, by here and there altering or adding a word, or a phrase, so as to make the text more clearly

expressive of the sense he wished to give it, than it otherwise would have been, he was guilty only of 'a pious fraud.' It will be hereafter seen, that Santander has taken similar liberties in his French version of these passages, in order to adapt them to his own views. I have therefore been at the pains to go through the whole, with the help of a person of my acquaintance who is conversant with German; and as one part appears to throw light upon another, I here lay before the reader the entire process, carefully translated from the original; excepting a few sentences, which, as they relate only to payments of money, &c. are given in an abridged form.

"*Instrumenta litis, in causa Jo. Gutenbergii, Argentorati agitata. Ex protocollo Senatus Majoris, cuius rubrum: 'Dicta Testium magni concilii Anno Dni M<sup>o</sup>. CCCC<sup>o</sup>. Tricesimo nono.'*

"This is the truth (or the evidence) which George Dritzehen hath produced against Joh. of Mentz called Gutenberg: In the presence of Nicolas Duntzenheim and Nicolas zur Helten.

(1.) "*Barbara von Zabern, die Koüfferlerin, has deposed, that conversing once with Andr. Dritzehen, about bed time, she asked him why he did not at last go to bed, and that he answered: 'I must first finish what I have in hand.'... He then talked to her of the large sums he had expended upon the work, and of having been obliged to pledge his property, &c. And she said to him, 'But, what if the affair should turn out badly?' to which he answered, 'That can never be; and before the end of the year, if God has not decreed to punish us, we shall reap the benefit of it.'*

(2.) "*Anne, the wife of Joh. Schultheissen, the wood-merchant, has deposed; that Laurence Beildeck came one day to her house to Nicolas Dritzehen, her cousin, and said to him, 'My dear Nicolas Dritzehen, Andrew Dritzehen of happy memory, has left iiij. pieces in a press: Gutenberg has desired that you would take them out of the press, and separate them from each other, so that nobody may know what it is, for he would not that any person living should see it.' This witness has also said, that when she was with her cousin Andr. Dritzehen, she has exerted herself night and day, in assisting him in that work: Also, that she well knew that her cousin, of happy memory, had in those times pledged his property, but was ignorant if it was on account of that work.'*



Thus, in the Original German, and in Schöpflin's Latin Translation.

"Item, frouwe Ennel Hanns Schultheissen frouwe des holtzmans hatt geseit das Lorentz Beildeck zu einer zit inn ir hus kommen sy zu Claus Dritzehen irem vetter und sprach zu ime, lieber Claus Dritzehen,<sup>9</sup> Andres Dritzehen selig *hat iiij. stücke inn einer pressen ligen*, do hatt Gutenberg gebetten das ir die usz der pressen nement und die von einander legent uff das man nit gewissen kune was es sy dann er hatt nit gerne das das jemand sihet. Dise gezugin hatt ouch geseit, Als sye by Andres Dritzehen jrem vetter gewesen sy do habe sü jme desselben wercks dick helffen machen tag und naht, Sie hatt ouch geseit das sü wol wisse das Andres Dritzehen jr vetter selig in den ziten sin pfenning gelt versetzt habe ob aber er das zü dem werck gebrucht habe wisse sü nit."

"Anna, Joh. Schultheissii lignarii conjux, professa est, Laurentium Beildeck aliquando domum suam ad Nicolaum Dritzehen, suum cognatum, venisse, eique dixisse: mi Nicolae Dritzehen! Andreas Dritzehen beatae memoriae, *quatuor paginas in prelo repositas habuit*, quas ut inde auferres atque disjiceres, Gutenberg rogavit, ne quis rem incognitam addisceret, nolle enim se quenquam mortalium eam videre. Haec testis porro enunciavit, se, cum apud Andream Dritzehen suum cognatum commoraretur, noctu diuque in opere hoc conficiendo ei fuisse adjutricem; porro, sibi bene constare, Andream Dritzehen illis temporibus sortem, ex qua annuos redditus percipiebat, oppignerasse, caeterum se ignorare, an huic operi summam impenderit."

(3.) "Item, Johan Sidenneger has deposed, that Andr. Dritzehen had over and over again told him, that he had spent a great deal of money on *that work*, &c.

(4.) "Item, Johan Schultheissen has said, that Laur. Beildeck once came to his house to see Nicolas Dritzehen, who had just returned home with this witness, and that at that time Andrew Dritzehen, his brother, was lying dead; and that Laur. Beildeck, then said to Nic. Dritzehen; '*Andrew Dritzehen, your brother, of happy memory, has left iiij. pieces underneath in a press: now Johan Gutenberg has desired that you would take them out and separate them one from the other, and lay them on the press, so that it may not be seen what it is. Then Nic. Dritzehen went and looked for the pieces, but found nothing.*' This witness has also said, that, a good while before the death of Andrew Dritzehen, he had heard him say, that the work had cost him more than three hundred florins."

<sup>9</sup> 'Hic in Orig. Seqq. verba deleta extant: *min Juncher Hanns Gutenberg hatt uch gebetten das*; SCHÖPFLINO teste.' Meerman; 'Origines,' Tom. II. p. 60.



“ Item Hannsz Schultheisz hatt geseit das Lorentz Beildeck zu einer zit heim inn sin husz kommen sy zü Claus Dritzehen als diser gezuge jn heim geführt hette, Als Andres Dritzehen sin bruder selige von todes wegen abgangen was, und sprach da Lorentz Beildeck zu Claus Dritzehen, Andres Dritzehen uwer bruder selige *hat iiij. stücke undenan inn einer pressen ligen*, da hatt uch Hanns Gutemberg gebetten das ir die darusz nement und uff die presse legent von einander so kan man nit gesehen was das ist, Also gieng Claus Dritzehen und suchete die *stücke* do vant er nutzit. Diser gezuge hat ouch geseit das er vor guter zit von Andres Dritzehen gehört habe ee er von todes wegen abgangen sy das er sprach das werck hette jn me dann III<sup>e</sup>. guldin costet.”

(5.) “ *Item Conrad Sahspach* has said, that Andrew Heilman came to him one day in Kremer-street, and said to him, ‘ My dear Conrad, since Andrew Dritzehen is deceased, and *as you made the press and are acquainted with the matter, go, and take the pieces out of the press, and disjoin them from one another, so that no one may know what it is ;*’ but that when this witness wanted to do so, and looked for them on the morrow of St. Stephen’s day, the whole was gone.’ This witness has also said, that Andrew Dritzehen, of happy memory, at one time borrowed money from him, which he expended upon *that work* ; and that he once told him, and complained, that he must pledge his property,” &c.

“ Item Cunrad Sahspach hatt geseit das Andres Heilman zu einer zit zu jme komen sy inn Kremer gasse und sprach zu jme lieber Cunrad als Andres Dritzehen abgangen ist da hastu die pressen gemahlt und weist umb die sache do gang dohin und nym *die stücke usz der pressen* und zerlege sü von einander so weis nyemand was es ist, da nu diser gezuge das tun

“ Item Johannes Schultheiss dixit, Laurentium Beildeck aliquando domum suam venisse ad Nicolaum Dritzehen, mortuo jam Andrea Dritzehen, huius fratre, eundemque Laurentium Beildeck Nicolao Dritzehen sic locutum esse ; Andreas Dritzehen frater tuus beatae memoriae *quatuor paginas in inferiori parte preli repositas habuit*, quas inde auferres, dissolutasque prelo imponeres, Johannes Gutenberg rogavit, ne quis rem introspiceret. Nicolaus Dritzehen abiens *formas* quae-sivit, nihil vero invenit. Idem testis edixit, se jam olim ex Andrea Dritzehen, antequam fato esset extinctus, audivisse, opus ipsi trecentis minimum florenis constitisse.”

“ Item Conradus Sahspach dixit, Andrew Heilman aliquando ad se in plateam mercatorum venisse atque dixisse : mi Conrade ! cum Andreas Dritzehen mortuus sit, et tu prelum confeceris rei que conscius sis, *abi, exime prelo paginas*, disjice illas, et nemo sciet, quid rei sit ; sed cum hic testis id facere voluisset, et ita proxime praeterito die St. Stephani scrui-

wolte und also suchete das were uff Sanct Steffanns tag nehst vergangen do was das ding hinweg, Diser gezeuge hatt ouch geseit das Andres Dritzehen selige zu einer zit gelt umb jn gelehenet habe das habe er zu dem werck gebruchet, Er hatt ouch geseit das Andres Dritzehen selige jme zu einer zit geseit habe und clagete er müste pfenning gelt versetzen, sprach diser gezeuge das ist böse, doch bistu darin kommen, so mustu ouch darus, und also wisse er wol das er sin pfenning gelt versetzt habe."

tatus esset, opus jam fuisse sublatum. Idem testis addidit, eundem beatae memoriae Andream aliquando ab se pecuniam mutuo accepisse, eique operi impendisse, eundemque Andream aliquando conquestum esse, annuos suos redditus se cogi oppignerare, tunc hunc testem respondisse: vae! sed tuum est te eripere; adeoque probe se nosse, quod redditus suos oppigneraverit."

(6.) "*Item Wernher Smalrien*, has deposed, that he had made three or four purchases, but that he was ignorant whom they were for," &c. &c. [Nothing is here said of the nature of the things bought; though it afterwards appears from the summing up of the court, that one of the articles was lead. One of the purchases was to the amount of 113 florins.]

(7.) "*Item Mydehart Stocker* has said, that Andrew Dritzehen, of happy memory, on St. John's Day at Christmas, at the time of the procession, being ill, laid himself down on a bed, in the stove-room, in the house of the witness. He, witness, went up to him, and asked him how he was? to which he answered: 'I well know that I am going to die,' and he added: 'If I am to die, I wish I had never entered into this partnership.' And the witness having asked him 'Why so?' he replied, 'Because I well know that my brothers will never be able to agree with Gutenberg;' and this witness having asked him, 'whether or not the partnership had been drawn out in writing, and whether any persons had been present?' Andrew said, 'that it was indeed written down;' and then witness asked him, 'what were the conditions of the partnership?' and he then told witness, that 'Andrew Heilman, Johan Riffe, Gutenberg, and himself had entered into a partnership, and that And. Heilman, and he himself, had each paid in the sum of 80 florins, as far as he could remember: Also, that during the existence of that partnership, Andrew Heilman and he went to visit Gutenberg at St. Arbogast, and finding that he had concealed from them some art, which (however) he had not bound himself to divulge to them, they felt dissatisfied; and so, having dissolved that partnership, they entered into another, by which And. Heilman and he (And. Dritzehen) were each of them to add so much to the former 80 florins, as that the number of



500 florins should be completed : [It may be here observed, that the dying man speaks only from memory, and that it afterwards appears in evidence, that the entire sum was to be 410, and not 500 florins.] And in this partnership, they two were to stand for one ; and Gutenberg and Johan Riffe, were, each of them, to furnish the same sum as they two (And. Dritzehen and And. Heilman) together ; whereupon, *Gutenberg was to communicate to them all his art, without any concealment whatever.* And then a deed of partnership was drawn up, in which it was settled, that in case of the death of any one of the society, 100 florins were to be paid by the surviving partners to the heirs of the deceased, and that all remaining monies, and whatsoever else belonged to the society, should continue the property of the partnership. The witness also said, that Andrew Dritzehen, of happy memory, at the same time told him, (and that moreover he knew it of his own knowledge) that he had pledged some part of his property, but whether for a large or for a small sum, he did not know ; nor whether or not he had expended the money upon that work.

“ *In the presence of Theobald Brant and Jacob Rotgebe.*

(8.) “ *Peter Eckhart*, curate of St. Martin’s, has said, that Andr. Dritzehen, of happy memory, during the four days of Christmas, sent for him to hear his confession, and that he (Dritzehen) having confessed willingly, witness asked him if he was indebted to any one, or if any one was indebted to him, or if he had at any time given any thing to any body. Then Andrew said, that he had a partnership with certain persons, namely, Andrew Heilman, and others, in which he had expended two or three hundred florins, and that he did not (then) possess a single farthing ; and the witness added, that And. Dritzehen, was lying on the bed in his clothes.

(9.) “ *Thomas Steinbach*, has said, that Hesse, the broker, came once to him, and asked him if he did not know some one who would lend money upon moderate terms, as he himself knew certain persons, and he named at the same time Johan Gutenberg, Andr. Dritzehen, and a certain Heilman, who wanted ready money ; and that this witness then bought for them 14 Lützelbergers, knowing at the same time a merchant who would buy them again, and to whom he sold them at the loss of twelve and a half florins ; and that Fridel Seckingen became the surety for them, by a document written in the office of the merchant.

(10.) “ *Lawrence Beildeck*, has declared, that Johan Gutenberg once sent him to Nicolas Dritzehen, after the death of his brother Andrew, of happy memory,



to tell him, Nic. Dritzehen, *not to shew the press which he had in his possession to any one; which witness did: he said also that he should take good care to go to the press, and to open it with the two 'wurbelin,' (or by means of the two wurbelin), so that the pieces might fall from one another, and that he should then put those pieces in the press, or upon the press, so that no person might see or notice them; and that after the funeral was over, he (Nic. Dritzehen) should come to him Johan Gutenberg, for that he had something to say to him. This witness well knows that Johan Gutenberg is nothing indebted to the said Andrew, but that Andrew was so to Joh. Gutenberg, and that he was to pay him at different stated periods, in the interval between which he died. He has also said, that he never was present at any meeting of business ('burse') of the partners, that has taken place at his (Gutenberg's) house since Christmas. This witness has very often seen Andrew Dritzehen eat at the house of Johan Gutenberg, but has never seen him pay a single farthing.*

"Lorentz Beildeck het geseit das Johann Gutenberg in zu einer zit geschickt het zu Claus Dritzehen, nach Andres sins bruders seligen dode und det Clausen Dritzehen sagen das er die *presse* die er hunder jm hett nieman oigete zoigete, das ouch diser gezug det, und rette ouch me und sprach er solte sich bekumben so vil und gon über die *presse* und die mit den *zweyen wurbelin* uff dun so vielent die *stucke* voneinander, dieselben *stucke* solt er dann in die *presse* oder uff die *presse* lege so kunde darnach nieman gesehen noch ut gemercken," &c.

"Laurentius Beildeck dixit, se aliquando à Johanne Gutenberg ad Nicolaum Dritzehen post mortem Andreae, fratris eiusdem, missum esse, ut ipsi nunciaret, ne *prelum*, quod apud se haberet, cuiquam monstraret; idque se curasse. Addidit, Gutenberg ipsi insuper mandasse, ut subito ad *prela* se conferret, et *illud prelum*, quod *duabus cochleolis* munitum esset, aperiret, ut *paginae* dilabantur in partes, easque *partes* vel *intra* vel *supra prelum* poneret. Ita neminem rem vel inspecturum, vel aliquid eius intellecturum," &c.

I have not translated the term *wurbelin* in the above testimony, because I would not take upon me to define the exact kind of fastening intended. In a German and Latin Dictionary in 4to., printed at Nuremberg in m.cccc.lxxxij. by cunradū zeninger, I find,

‘*Werb*el oder reyde als vor venstern. vertibulū.’

and at ‘reyde,’ thus:

‘*Reyde* oder werbel. als an venstern. vertibulum.’

In the Dictionary of Bailey Fahremknuger, Jena, 1822, we have:

*Wirbel*, twirl, rotatory motion, &c. thing which turns or moves round, a peg in a musical instrument, also a tornaquet, with other meanings of the same kind.

Upon my lately asking a German professor of music of my acquaintance, the real meaning of *wurbelin* or *wirbelin*, he immediately told me that the turning lock of my door, (I mean not that which is opened and shut by a key) was a *wirbel*; that the peg of his violin was a *wirbel*; and that a *wirbelin* was no other than a small *wirbel*. *Schraub* is the German word for skrew; and it is singular enough, that the only illustration given of it in the above ancient German Dictionary, refers to a skrew-press, thus:

‘Schrawb als an einer presse. irale.’

where this old Lexicographer got the word ‘*irale*,’ I know not.

On the whole, there is I think, good reason to conclude that the press so often mentioned by the witnesses in this process (for it appears to be the same identical press that is spoken of throughout) was not a skrew-press. What was its construction, or what the use to which it was applied, I cannot conjecture. Schöpflin must answer for the “*Ut subito ad prela se conferret, et illud prelum, quod duabus cochleolis munitum esse, aperiret, ut paginae dilabantur in partes,*” &c.

(11.) “*Reimbolt von Ehenheim* has said, that a little before Christmas he went to Andrew, and asked him *how he got on with the thing he was about?* Andrew of happy memory replied, that it had cost him more than 500 florins, but he hoped that, when it should be finished, he would make a great deal of money, wherewith he would satisfy witness and others, and relieve himself from his cares. This witness has said, that at the same time he lent him (Andrew) eight florins, as he was in great want of money, and that his wife had several times lent money to Andrew. Andrew also came once to witness with a ring, which he estimated at thirty florins, which he pledged at Ehenheim, to the Jews, for five florins. This witness has also said, that he knows very well, that in the time of vintage he (Andrew) had prepared two vessels of sweetened wine, of which he made a present of half to Joh. Gutenberg, and the other half to Midehart, and that he gave also to Gutenberg a quantity of pears. Andrew, also, once asked witness to purchase for him two half pipes of wine, which witness did; and out of these two half pipes of wine Andrew



Dritzehen and Andrew Heilman gave, between them, one half pipe to Joh. Gutenberg."

(12.) "*Johan Niger von Bischovissheim* has deposed, that Andrew once came to him and said that he wanted money ; that therefore he must trouble him and his other debtors for it, as *he had something in hand for which he could not collect money enough*. Also, that *this witness then asked him what he was making ? and that he answered, that he was a looking-glass maker* : that witness then hired thrashers, and carried his corn to Molssheim and Ehenheim, and sold it and paid him."

The rest of this witness's testimony is confirmatory of that of the preceding witness, as to the sweet wine, the half pipe of wine, and the pears, given to Gutenberg.

" *In the presence of Boschwiler.*

(13.) "*Item, Fridel von Seckingen* has said, that Gutenberg had made a purchase, and that he (witness,) became surety for the payment ; and that he did not know any thing else about it, except that Anthonie Heilman was concerned in it, and that the debt contracted for the said purchase was afterwards paid. He has also said that Gutenberg, Andrew Heilman, and Andrew Dritzehen, had asked him to become their surety for 101 florins, to Stoltz the son-in-law of Peter ; which he did, upon the condition that they three should give an acknowledgment of indemnity for the same ; and that this was written, subscribed, and sealed, by Gutenberg and Andrew Heilman, but that Andrew Dritzehen had always put off adding his seal, and indeed could never be got to do it. Gutenberg, however, afterwards paid all the money, at the time of the last Lent-fair. The same witness has also said, that he knew nothing of the society of the above-named three persons, as he had never been invited to, nor had ever been present at it."

" THE DEPOSITIONS OF THE WITNESSES ON THE PART OF  
GUTENBERG, AGAINST GEORGE DRITZEHEN.

" *In the presence of Frantz Berner and Boschwiler.*

(14.) "*Item, Her Anthonie Heilman* has deposed, that being aware that Gutenberg was about to take Andrew Dritzehen, as a third partner, into *the society for the manufacture of looking-glasses for the Aix-la-Chapelle market*, he earnestly beg'd of him to admit also therein his own brother Andrew, as he wished to serve him. In answer to this application, Gutenberg, observed, that he feared



lest the friends of Andrew might say that it was all an imposition; and that therefore he could not allow him to enter into the society. Thereupon, he (witness) further entreated him, and gave him a written proposition which he should shew to the two other partners, in order that they might well consider the matter. He, Gutenberg, took the paper to them, and they decided that they would agree to what was drawn up in it, and thus he was received into the society. In these circumstances, Andrew (Heilman) beg'd witness to assist him with money. Witness said that he had good securities, and that he would soon assist him; and he did so, at last, to the amount of ninety pounds, and brought the money for him to St. Arbogast; having mortgaged, for that purpose, a rent of two pounds before received by him from the nuns of St. Agnes. And this witness said to him: 'What can you want with so much money; seeing that the sum agreed upon was only 80 florins?' to which he (Andrew) answered, 'that he must have money for other purposes; and that two or three days before the vigil of the Annunciation, he was to pay 80 florins (more) to Gutenberg, which he witness must advance to him; as the sum to be paid by each was 80 florins; [there is an obscurity here which I cannot clear up] for with respect to the remaining third part which Gutenberg had besides, and the money which had been given to him upon the admission of him (And. Heilman) into the society, and for the secret of the art, neither of those sums had been thrown into the partnership. Gutenberg afterwards said to this witness, that he had to remark to him, that in acknowledgment of what he had received, they (the partners) should be upon the same footing in every thing, and that in future nothing should be concealed from any of them respecting the *remaining work*. The said witness was glad at this declaration, and reported it to the two others; and a long time afterwards he (Gutenberg) repeated the same; when the said witness again encouraged him to do as he said, telling him he would reward him for it. After this, he (Gutenberg) signed a written document to the same effect; saying to witness, 'Tell them to consider well the matter, whether it be agreeable to them or not:' which witness did; and they were a long time in deliberation; and they also consulted him (Gutenberg), who afterwards, at another time, said: 'Now, *there is as much stuff in the concern as quite equals your money*; so that, in fact, the knowledge of *the art* is given to you for nothing.' They also came to an agreement with Gutenberg, upon two points; one of these was to be done away with, and the other was to be thoroughly defined. The point to be done away with was, that they were not to consider themselves beholden for any thing, great or small, to Johan Riffen, as they owed nothing to him, and as what they had

they owed to Gutenberg. The other point, to be thoroughly defined, was, that in case any one of them should be removed from the partnership by death, that, then, it should be well understood—and so it was—that the matter should be so arranged with his heirs, that, for all things done or undone, for money advanced by, or belonging to the share of such person, *for the value of the stock, the forms (or moulds) and all other implements and materials* not excepted, they (the surviving partners) should, after the expiration of five years, pay to his heirs 100 florins: So that he, Gutenberg, as he observed, gave them a great advantage; for were he himself to die, after he had once admitted them into the partnership, his heirs, notwithstanding the sums previously expended by him, would only have to receive 100 florins for his share, like those of any of the others. All this was done, to the intent that whosoever of them should die, the surviving partners should not be obliged to make known, or to shew to his heirs, any thing concerning *the art*; which article was approved by every one of them. Afterwards, both the Andrews said to witness, in the quarter of the tanners, that they had agreed with Gutenberg about the written instrument; that they had abrogated the point concerning Joh. Riffen, but that the other point had been approved and clearly defined, as it appears in the last written article; and, also, that Andrew Dritzehen had since given to Gutenberg 40 florins, and the brother of witness 50 florins; for the requisite sum to be paid at that appointed time was 50 florins, as the written agreement shews: and afterwards, at last Christmas, they were to give 20 florins: That afterwards, at Mid-Lent, this witness further disbursed money, as the written schedule shews; and witness says also, that he knows the terms of the schedule, and that the above money was not put into the partnership, as it was to be Gutenberg's own. Also, that Andrew Dritzehen had never paid any money into the partnership, nor had ever given any money for eating and drinking abroad, which they (the other partners) had done.

“ This witness has also said, that he well knows that Gutenberg, not long before Christmas, sent his servant to both the Andrews (Dritzehen and Heilman), *to fetch all the forms, that they might be loosened, and that he might see it (done) and that the joinings of some of the forms*” (by which the pieces were tied or yoked together) “ *might be renewed.*”

But the latter clause of this passage is very obscure, and as it is possible our translation may be wrong, it is here given in the original German and in the Latin of Schöpflin:



“Dirre gezuge hat ouch geseit das er wol wisse das Gutenberg unlange vor Wihnahten sinen kneht sante zu den beden Andresen, alle formen zu holen, und würdent zur lossen das er ess sehe, und jn joch ettliche formen ruwete.”

“Idem testis insuper dixit, se probe scire, Gutenberg paulo ante Nativitatis festum famulum suum ad utrumque Andream misisse, ut omnes formas peteret, easque in conspectu eius dissolutas, et complures etiam formas defectu laborasse.”

[In the early German Dictionary, before mentioned, I find: “Ruwen oder vnewen. reficere. i. quiescere vel renovare.”]

“Then afterwards (continued the witness) when Andrew, of happy memory, had departed this life, and *this witness well knew that people were curious to see the press, Gutenberg said that they should send to the press, for he feared lest any one should see it; he then sent his servant thither to take it to pieces, and he promised that when he was at leisure, he would speak to them:*” [the surviving brothers of Andr. Dritzehen, I suppose: see the deposition of Lawrence Beildeck.] He, witness, also says, that no mention had ever been made, either of Reimbolt Muselers, or of himself.

“*Item, Her Anthonie Heilman, has further said, that the longest schedule of the two, that have been mentioned in his above deposition, is the one which Gutenberg gave to the two Andrews for their consideration; as to the other schedule, which must have been previously written, witness did not know whether or not it now existed, and remembered nothing about it. He has also said, that Andrew Dritzehen and Andrew Heilman had given to the said Gutenberg a half-pipe of wine, for what they had eaten and drank at his house; and that And. Dritzehen had given him, besides, one measure of sweet wine, and about an hundred pears. He has also said, that he afterwards asked his own brother when they were to begin to learn; and that he replied, that Gutenberg had demanded ten florins more from And. Dritzehen, to make up the fifty florins which he ought to have paid.*

(15.) “*Item Johan Dünn, the goldsmith, has said, that about three years ago, he had received from Gutenberg about one hundred florins, solely for matters pertaining to impression.*”

“Item, Hanns Dünne der goltsmyt hat geseit, das er vor dryen joren oder doby Gutenberg by den hundert guldin abe verdienet habe alleine das zu dem trucken gehöret.”

“Item, Johannes Dünne aurifaber dixit: se iam ante tres vel circiter annos, ad centum florenorum pretium pro rebus ad impressionem pertinentibus à Gutenbergio accepisse.

[In the ancient German Dictionary more than once referred to, I find, “Drucken. premere, comprimere;” also, “Druckung od’ zwancksal zwanck.



pressura ;” also “Zwanck. oder zwancksal. oder druckung. pressura.” I do not find in it, as in modern dictionaries : “*Buchdruckerkunst*, printing, typography ;” or “*Buchdrucker*, printer ;” or “*Buchdruckerpresse*, printing-press.” The word *Trucken*, or *Drucken*, seems to mean impressing and stamping of every kind.]

(16.) “*Item, Midehart Stocker* has said, that he had heard Andrew Dritzehen say, ‘that, God helping them, *the work when completed, would find its way with the publick*, and that then, he hoped and trusted, he would be delivered from his difficulties.’ ”] [Stocker has appeared also under No. 7.]

The depositions of the witnesses on both sides here finish ; after which we have a paper addressed by Laur. Beildeck to the magistrates, complaining that he had been unjustly accused of perjury by George Dritzehen, and protesting that he had spoken nothing but the truth. As it does not contain any thing in the way of evidence, it is unnecessary to notice it further.

Then follows a numerous list of the witnesses, which, I suppose had been cited on both sides ; among which are the names of several whose depositions, if they were examined at all, do not appear to have been taken down in writing.

Lastly, we have the summing up and sentence of the court ; which though it occupies eight of Meerman’s quarto pages, makes no mention of *presses*, nor of ‘*wurbelin*,’ nor ‘*formen*,’ nor even of the term ‘*stucke*,’ which Schöpflin, as we have seen, has been pleased so often to translate by ‘*paginas* :’ so that I am sure the reader will be satisfied that I should give the general sense of it in as few words as possible.

It begins by setting forth, that “this cause was instituted by George Dritzehen, on the part of himself and his brother Nicolas Dritzehen, against Hans (or Johan) Genszefleich von Mentz, called Gutenberg.<sup>10</sup> That their defunct brother, Andrew Dritzehen, had spent or advanced large sums of money, on account of a society which he had entered into with Joh. Gutenberg and others ; *which society had*

<sup>10</sup> “Hans Genszefleich von Mentz genant Gutenberg.” This is the only occasion in the whole process, upon which Gutenberg is called by the additional name of Genszefleich.

*made considerable gains*: that the said Andrew, at different times, when *purchases of lead*, and other articles necessary for their business had been made, had become security for their payment, and that he had afterwards paid for the same. That Andrew having died, his two brothers had often required of Gutenberg that he should admit them into the partnership in his stead, or that he should refund to them the monies which Andrew had advanced, together with his share of the profits, &c. and that Gutenberg had refused," &c.

To this, Gutenberg answered, " that these demands were not just ; but at variance with the articles of the partnership which had been agreed to by Andrew Dritzehen, and of which a copy had been found among his papers. That several years ago, before the date of this partnership, *Andrew had sought to learn some secret art from him, and that he had then taught him the art of polishing stones*, by which he had made no small gain. That a long time afterwards he (Gutenberg) had begun to exercise *a certain art with Johan Riffe, the prefect of Lichtenow, which they employed (or made a traffic of) at the fairs of Aix-la-Chapelle*; (this it appears was *the manufactory of looking-glasses*; see test. 12 and 14.) and of which, he Gutenberg was to have two-thirds of the profit, and J. Riffe, the other third; that Andrew Dritzehen, learning this, had besought him, Gutenberg, to teach that art to him also, promising such a premium as he should require : that, in the mean time, Anthonie Heilman asked the same for his brother Andrew; and that he (Gutenberg) granted the request of both; teaching them his art, and engaging to allow them one-half of his share of the profit; so that they two were to have one (third) part, Johan Riffe, another (third) part, and he Gutenberg, the other (third) part: that as a premium *for teaching them this art*, he was to receive 160 florins, that is 80 florins from each of them. That when all persons were persuaded that the fair at Aix-la-Chapelle would be held that year, and all things were prepared for it, it was put off to the year following; that his partners (then) urged him to reveal to them *all the wonderful and secret arts that he knew, without any exception*. That he consented to do this, upon the



condition that they (And. Dritzehen and And. Heilman) should pay between them the further sum of 250 florins, making, with the 160 before received, the sum of 410 florins ; that 100 of this was to be paid down, and the rest at future stated periods ; that Andrew Heilman paid 50 florins (being his half of the 100) and that Andrew Dritzehen paid 40, leaving himself debtor for 10. That Andrew Dritzehen died before the other payments became due, and that moreover he had not paid the 10 florins ; so that at the time of his decease he had in fact only paid 40 florins, in part of his half of the 250, leaving due or to become due, for the completion of his payments, 85 florins. It is then stated, that the partnership for the carrying on of *the wonderful art* was made for five years ; that it had been agreed, that, in case of the death of any one of the four partners within that period, *all the utensils and implements of the art, and all works perfected by the instruments*, were to remain in the partnership ; and that, at the expiration of the five years, the surviving partners were to pay to the heirs of the defunct, 100 florins." The rest may be briefly told : " the deed of partnership, although it had not yet received the formality of a sealed instrument, had been agreed to and acted upon by all the parties, and was in the possession of Andrew Dritzehen at the time of his death ; shortly before which, he had also confessed that he had been instructed by Gutenberg in the wonderful art. It was proved by the latter, that And. Dritzehen had never been surety for a *purchase of lead*, or any thing else for the concern, except to Fridel von Seckingen, and that he, Gutenberg, had himself paid the debt after the death of the said Andrew. In fine, the court adjudged, that the surviving partners should pay to the heirs of Andrew Dritzehen, the sum of 15 florins ; which, with the 85 owing by him to Gutenberg, (to complete the payment of the premium agreed on) would make up the 100 florins, which, according to the deed of partnership, was to be paid to the heirs of any partner who should chance to die during the continuance of the partnership ; and it decided, that the contract should stand." " Datum vigil. Lucie et Otilie (d. 12. Dec.) Anno xxxix."

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IN examining this Process, with a view to determine, if possible, whether any one of the last wonderful arts, which Gutenberg taught his friends, was, or was not, the truly wonderful art of Typography, it is necessary, in the first place, to bear in mind that all the circumstances, mentioned by the witnesses, relate to transactions which took place upon occasion of the death of Andrew Dritzehen, or previously; that Andrew died in the Christmas of the preceding year; and that, therefore, all the witnesses were called upon to speak to facts which had occurred at least eleven months before; a circumstance which may very well account for any small discrepancies that may appear in their testimony.

It is said, in the summing up of the Court, that Gutenberg, several years before, had taught And. Dritzehen *the art of polishing stones*; and he afterwards took him and And. Heilman as partners in *a manufactory of looking-glasses*, which articles he and Joh. Riffe had before been accustomed to sell at the fairs at Aix-la-Chapelle; and for this favour they each gave him 80 florins. But one year, after they had made their preparations for attending the fair, it was unexpectedly put off until the year following; and we may suppose they felt the disappointment. Then it was, that they urged Gutenberg “to reveal to them *all the (other) wonderful and secret arts that he knew, without any exception;*” and that he, for a further premium, consented to do so. The judges speak of *arts*, in the plural number, and they appear to have had the fullest means of information, and to have gone very carefully into the merits of the case. It is true that the individual witnesses speak of *an art*, or of *the art*, or of *the work*; but then each, when he, or she, so speaks, is deposing to a particular transaction.

We cannot therefore, I think, conclude, from several of the witnesses speaking of *a press*, that Andrew Dritzehen and Andrew Heilman had been taught only *one new art* by Gutenberg, *in which that press was used*, in addition to the art of making looking-glasses, which they had been instructed in before the date of the last partnership. It is very possible that *the work* which Andrew Dritzehen

was about, when Barbara von Zabern (1) thought it time for him to go to bed, had nothing to do with the press, and was in no wise dependent for its completion upon the use of it : and the same may be said of *the work*, in which Anne Schultheissen (2) says, *she for some time assisted him, night and day*; though, it is true, she here speaks of *that work*, and in her previous testimony had mentioned *the press*, which may seem to indicate that she in some degree connected in her mind the one with the other. If the work she assisted him in had to do with the press, it could scarcely have been Typography : for few women of the inferior classes in those times knew their letters ; and without such knowledge, she could not, one would think, have helped him.

Again, the second, fourth, fifth, and tenth witnesses, speak particularly of *the press*, but without once mentioning the *forms* ; which are, for the first and last time, spoken of by Anthonie Heilman, the fourteenth witness, who twice mentions them. It is true, that this witness does also once make mention of *the press* ; but what he says of *it*, is not connected with what he says of the *forms* : had the forms had any thing to do with the press, it seems probable that the term ‘ formen,’ instead of ‘ stucke,’ (or accompanying the word ‘ stucke ’) would have appeared in connection with the word ‘ *presse*,’ in at least some one of the depositions.

The first mention of the *forms* (‘ formen ’) by Ant. Heilman, is in that part, where he says that in case of the death of any one of the partners, all the stock, *forms*, and other implements, &c. were to remain the property of the surviving partners ; who at the expiration of five years, dating from the commencement of the partnership, were to pay 100 florins to the heirs of the defunct, in full of all claims for his share. The other, is that in which he says, “ that Gutenberg, a little before Christmas, sent his servant to both the Andrews, to fetch *all the forms*, and that they were loosened,” &c.

There is nothing in the first passage, to militate directly against the idea that they may have been *engraved blocks* ; which the old wood-engravers and printers (though how early I am not prepared to



say) were accustomed to call *forms*: but the second passage, wherein it is said that *the forms* '*were loosened*,' &c. clearly shews that they were made so as to be taken to pieces; which we know not to have been the usage of the printers of the ancient block-books, who commonly, perhaps always, engraved two entire pages (often containing four subjects, with their descriptions), upon one tablet of wood; as will be seen hereafter, in our account of the Block-Books.

If, therefore, these *forms* had any thing to do with printing, it must have been *printing with moveable characters*.

But the idea conveyed by both these passages is, that *these forms were numerous*. Now, the greatest, nay perhaps, the sole advantage, which the inventors of typography proposed to themselves, when they first thought of carving letters on separate pieces of wood or metal, was that of rendering numerous forms unnecessary: since with a very moderate quantity of moveable type, a work of an hundred or a thousand pages could be printed, and *with only one frame or form*; the same type, which had served for printing the first page, being equally applicable, after the characters had been separated from each other and re-set in the form, to the printing of the second, the third, and the fourth pages, and so on to the end of the book. The reverse of which, of course, was the case in block-printing; where the *forms*, like those of our stereotype-printers of the present day, must have multiplied exceedingly.

In fine; if these *forms* were of moveable type, why were they so numerous?—if engraved blocks, how could they have been taken to pieces, so as that a person seeing them should not know what they were? The only alternative, therefore, seems to be, that the forms mentioned in the above two passages, had no reference whatever to printing; but were probably moulds, employed for the purpose of casting figures or ornaments of some kind or other, which Gutenberg and his partners were accustomed to take with their looking-glasses to the fairs at Aix-la-Chapelle.

I now come to *the Press*: for *it is clear that one press only is spoken of by the different witnesses in this process*; and that Schöpfli and



his followers are not warranted in making Laurence Beildeck talk of *the presses*.

We are led to suppose, by all the depositions mentioning the press, that there was something about it, which Gutenberg feared might enable some clever person, who should chance to see it, to become possessed of one of his secret arts, without the regular initiation ; and therefore, upon the death of Andrew Dritzehen, at whose house or lodging it was, he dispatches thither his servant Beildeck, with directions to take all necessary precautions respecting it. Why, in a matter of such moment, and upon which he was so anxious, Gutenberg did not go himself, it is difficult to conceive ; or why Andrew Heilman, one of the partners, did not go and do what was needful, instead of deputing Conrad Sahspach : for at that time, no misunderstanding appears to have taken place between the surviving partners and the two brothers of the deceased, which could have made such a visit awkward to either party.

However, neither of the partners did go upon this important errand ; but Laurence Beildeck was sent instead. This man, it appears, was really attached to his master's interests, and we may conclude that the latter had found him trustworthy ; may I say prudent and trustworthy, and may I suppose that upon this occasion, he did as Gutenberg had directed him ? If so, then I should say, that Gutenberg's mode of proceeding was better calculated to awaken curiosity respecting his secret art, than to prevent any dreaded discovery of it ; and that although he might be determined that no one, if he could help it, should become acquainted with it for nothing, there was mixed up with this feeling a secret wish, that his mysterious acquirements should be talked of ; in the hopes of getting a fresh addition of monied partners, capable of paying good premiums.

The origin and purpose of Beildeck's visit to the abode of the deceased partner, is thus described by Anthonie Heilman (14) :

*“ Then afterwards, when Andrew, of happy memory, had departed this life, and this witness well knew that people were curious to see the press, Gutenberg said that they should send to the press, for he feared lest any one should see it : he then sent his servant to take it to pieces, and he promised that when he was at*

*leisure he would speak to them ;*" that is, the surviving brothers of And. Dritzehen.

When first I read this passage, I understood it to mean, (as Santander appears to have done) that it was not until perhaps a day or two after the death of Andrew Dritzehen, that Ant. Heilman advised that the press should be taken to pieces : but I find, upon examination, that Beildeck must have been sent, on this errand, within a few hours after that event took place. It is evident, that though Ant. Heilman was not a partner, he was pretty well informed of the secret art in which the press was used.

Beildeck, himself, (10) gives this account of his mission :—

*" Johan Gutenberg,"* he says, *" once sent him to Nicolas Dritzehen, after the death of his brother Andrew, to tell him, Nic. Dritzehen, not to show the press which he had in his possession, to any one ; which witness did : he said also, that he should take good care to go to the press, and to open it with the two 'wurbelin,' so that the pieces might fall from one another, and that he should then put those pieces in the press, or upon the press, so that no person might see or notice them," &c.*

It seems strange that Beildeck, upon arriving at the residence of the deceased, did not privately ask permission of his brothers to go into the room where the press was, in order to remove or alter the appearance of this object of his master's uneasiness. Instead of so doing, he thus addresses Nicholas Dritzehen, who be it remembered was not a partner, and therefore ought not to have been in the secret ; and that in the presence and hearing of Johan Schultheiss, and of his wife Anne, (2 and 4) who with wonderful conformity of memory, repeat so exactly the same words, that their testimonies may be considered as one :

*" My dear Nicolas Dritzehen, Andrew Dritzehen, your brother, of happy memory, has left iiij. pieces, underneath in a press : now Joh. Gutenberg has desired that you would take them out and separate them one from the other, and lay them on the press, so that it may not be seen what it is. Then Nic. Dritzehen went and looked for the pieces, but found nothing," &c.*

But, besides this, Conrad Sahspach, deposed :

*" That Andrew Heilman came to him one day in Kremer-street, and said to*



him, 'My dear Conrad, since *Andrew Dritzehen is now no more, and as you made the press, and are acquainted with the matter, go and take the pieces out of the press, and disjoin them from one another, so that no one may know what it is;* but that when this witness wanted to do so, and looked for them on the morrow of St. Stephen's-day, the whole was gone," &c.

By which I understand, not only that he did not find *the pieces* (the 'paginas' of Schöpflin), but that he did not even find *the press*; which was probably the case also with Nic. Dritzehen, when he, as before mentioned, went to look for them; which seems very strange.

But we will suppose this press to have existed; and briefly remark upon what is said of it by the above witnesses. The term '*wurbelin*,' used in Beildeck's testimony,(10) has already been spoken of. The two '*wurbelin*' were not screws, but must have been some other kind of fastening, or mode of pressure, with which the press was provided. What the construction of the press was, or how these fastenings or modes of pressure were applied, I pretend not to say: but all the depositions, if we except that of Ant. Heilman, (which speaks as if it were the *press itself, which was to be taken to pieces*) describe it, as having within it some pieces, which in some way were connected with each other, and which Gutenberg desired should be separated or disjoined, (for there is nothing said of *dividing the pieces into pieces*) in order that people might not be able to guess the use for which they were intended. Two of the witnesses, namely, Schultheiss and his wife, informs us that *these pieces were four in number*, and that Nic. Dritzehen was desired to take them out of the press and separate them from each other, &c.

This, according to the natural meaning of the words, is all that can be made of these depositions; and it is probable that no one would ever have attempted to make more of them, had not the name of Gutenberg appeared in connection with them; for there can be no doubt that presses of different kinds were known, long before the invention of typography, and applied to many various purposes, either of stamping, or of continued pressure; and the word '*stucke*,' employed in this process to describe the things contained in the press, is as



applicable to pieces of one kind, whether of shape or material, as of another. The ancient German Dictionary before mentioned, has, ‘*Stuck, massa,*’ &c. ‘*Stucke, particula cuiuslibet rei,*’ &c. and ‘*Stucklein. particula :*’ I also find in it, ‘*Brieffe od’ buch, pagena, pagina,*’ &c. and ‘*Brieffe, sendt-brieffe, litera, carta missiva, epistula ;*’ and in short, I can discover no ground upon which Schöpflin’s translation of the term ‘*Stucke,*’ by ‘*paginas,*’ may be justified.

However, Schöpflin has chosen so to interpret it ; and according to the evidence of Joh. Schultheiss and his wife, as he has translated it, *Andrew Dritzehen, upon his death, left four pages (of moveable type) standing in the press, which his brother Nic. Dritzehen is desired, by Gutenberg’s orders, to take out of the press and decompose ; in order that people may not find out the secret, &c.* For he makes Beildeck address Nic. Dritzehen, in these words : “ *Andreas Dritzehen, frater tuus beatae memoriae QUATUOR PAGINAS in inferiori parte preli repositas habuit, quas inde auferres, dissolutasque prelo imponeres, Johannes Gutenberg rogavit, ne quis rem introspiceret.*”

If this were a true interpretation of the original German, then should we have the strongest grounds to conclude, that those parts of this process which relate to typography, are interpolations of no very early period, inserted by some one who was deficient in antiquarian knowledge ; as it may, I believe, be confidently asserted that the first printers never printed more than two pages at a time :<sup>11</sup> nay, it may even be satisfactorily proved, that some of the earliest

<sup>11</sup> Meerman, I think, shewed more courtesy than judgment, when he so readily admitted the general sense which Schöpflin had been pleased to give to this document. He says, however, in a note, vol. ii. p. 59. “*Instrumenta haec ex codice authentico, qui Argentinae in turri nummaria, cimeliorum custode, asservabatur, primus in lucem protraxit ill. Schöpflinus ad calcem Vindiciarum typogr., cujus versionem quoque retinuimus, praeterquam ubi de typographia sermo erat, sensumque verborum non bene intellexerat vir cl., qua de re diximus Cap. VIII., ubi haec documenta ex professo illustrantur.*” And at Chap. VIII. vol. i. p. 190, he shews himself to have been aware of the objection stated in the text ; as in citing the testimony of Joh. Schultheiss and his wife, he calls the four pieces, which were to be taken out of the press, “*quatuor columellas*” (four columns of text) and not “*quatuor paginas,*” as Schöpflin had done.

(Ulric Zell, for example) often printed each page separately, not only in their books in folio, but even in their quartos ; and, indeed, after taking much pains to ascertain the fact, I incline to the opinion, that, for a considerable time, this last was the common practice.

The chief reason for this, I think, was that it required but a comparatively small quantity of type ; whereas, had they, in their books in folio, printed two pages at a time, and in their quartos and octavos, four or eight pages, as is now practised, an immense quantity of type would have been necessary. For the early printers, in imitation of what, for the convenience of the bookbinder, had been practised in manuscripts, seldom or never made the gatherings of their books, whether in quarto or in folio, to consist of less than eight or ten leaves. The 1st and 20th pages, in a book in folio, having five sheets to a gathering, or ten leaves, would occupy one side of the first sheet of the gathering, and pages 2 and 19, the other side of it ; pages 3 and 18, 4 and 17, would occupy the two sides of the second sheet, and so on with others. It is therefore evident, that before the printer could set up and print, by one operation of the press, the 1st and the 20th pages, it would be necessary for him to set up all the intermediate pages ; as otherwise he could not know where the 20th page would begin : and this, if the pages were very large, as is the case in many early printed books in folio, would require a greater quantity of type than is possessed, of any one kind, by many considerable printers of the present day. It is true, that if the manuscript, from which he printed, was written with very great regularity, or if it had numerous divisions of paragraphs, sections, and chapters, with titles, &c. it is true, I say, that in such cases, he might, with management, set up his type, page by page, so that each should begin and end with the same word as the corresponding page in the manuscript, and this without the sacrifice of that regularity of appearance which a printed volume ought to have. Under such circumstances, the chief objection against printing two pages at a time, would be obviated : and I have reason to believe, that some early books, even in folio, may have been thus printed, two pages at a time ; though I should con-



sider such instances as exceptions to the general practice of the first printers.

As I have mentioned Ulric Zell's quartos, of which every bibliographer knows he printed a great number, I will here take occasion to state, that I have carefully examined a great many of them, leaf by leaf, and page by page, in order, as far as possible, to find out the processes employed by him. The gatherings of these books consist, almost invariably, of eight leaves, or four half-sheets: I say four half-sheets (and not two sheets) because the paper was always cut into half-sheets before it was used.

This is proved beyond doubt by the paper-marks. It was the custom of the paper-makers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as it is with those of the present day, to distinguish the different papers of their manufacture by particular marks, some with a Bull's-head, others with an Anchor, a Unicorn, &c.; the mark was woven upon one end, or near one end of the sieve or mould from which the paper was made; and consequently, when the sheet was folded in the middle, as in a book in folio, the mark appeared on one half-sheet and not on the other. The paper-mark being commonly in the middle of the half-sheet, it was consequently folded in the middle, in a book in quarto; and supposing the sheet to have been used entire, in a gathering of two sheets or eight leaves, part of the paper-mark would appear in the inside margin of four of the leaves, whilst the other four leaves would exhibit none. But, in examining Zell's quarto books, we sometimes find the paper-mark on three or even on all the four half-sheets of one gathering, and not at all, perhaps, or only once, on the four half-sheets of another gathering; so that it is quite certain the paper must have been divided into half-sheets before it was printed.

It is a singular feature in this document, that whilst so much is said of Gutenberg's anxiety least any one should see his press, five of the witnesses, none of whom were partners in the concern, appear to know all about it. No secret was ever so badly kept; and if, in the year 1438, so many persons were acquainted with it, women among the number, what must have been its publicity at Strasburg, after the



process of the year following? The secret, therefore, cannot, I think, have been the art of printing, which we have no good reason to believe was practised at Strasburg, until several years after its establishment at Mentz; and indeed, we are assured in the Cologne Chronicle, that it was first carried from Mentz to Cologne, and afterwards to Strasburg.

The impracticability of keeping this art, for a length of time, a profound secret, in any city where its nature and use were at all known, is illustrated by the early history of typography at Mentz; where, very soon after Fust and Schoeffer had sufficiently digested the hints got by them from Gutenberg to print their first volumes, the art appears to have been practised by various other printers; although, the wish, perhaps, to make their printed books pass with the public for manuscripts, caused them for some time to omit putting their names to them: and the same observation applies to printing in other parts of Europe; where, as soon as the existence of the art became known, ingenious men of all nations, many of whom, it is believed, had no instructions from the first Mentz printers, set up their presses, and printed with more or less ability, in the various towns, cities, and monasteries, where they resided.

If we take the depositions in this process, according to the interpretation of Schöpflin, they undoubtedly convey the idea of a printing establishment upon a very considerable scale: for we are led to suppose that the society had several presses; and Anthonie Heilman, the brother of one of the partners, deposed that a little before Christmas (1438) Gutenberg had sent his servant to the abodes of two of his partners, viz. Andrew Dritzehen and Andrew Heilman, to desire that *all the forms* in their possession might be sent to him; (from which, we must infer that several books were in hand at the same time); that accordingly they were sent, and were loosened in Gutenberg's presence, so as to enable him to take out any type improperly used in them, and rectify the errors of the compositor. Schöpflin, indeed, gives Gutenberg and his Strasburg associates the credit of having printed many volumes at this time. But nobody else is of that

opinion ; which, certainly, ill accords with the account given us by Trithemius, (to be produced presently) in which we are told that the first book, printed many years afterwards at Mentz, by Gutenberg and Fust, was printed by them from engraved blocks ; and that the idea of printing with moveable characters occurred to them afterwards. Santander and Heineken are of opinion, that Gutenberg's typographical attempts, at Strasburg, were utterly unsuccessful ; and that during his long residence there, he never succeeded in printing a single legible page. It appears more reasonable to suppose, that his experiments in this way were not begun till afterwards. The idea of his having, for several years, employed numerous forms, without being able to print from any one of them, is preposterous.

## CHAPTER IV.

### DOCUMENTS RELATING TO GUTENBERG AT MENTZ, &c.

AFTER having resided many years at Strasburg, Gutenberg, about the year 1444, left it, and took up his abode in his native city, Mentz. Judging from the account of Ulric Zell, it would seem not improbable, that he brought with him the idea of the new art, (of which, perhaps, he had got the hint shortly before), and that he had already begun to occupy himself in endeavours to put it in practice. Here he made the acquaintance of Joh. Fust, a respectable citizen, said to have been by profession a goldsmith: a partnership of some kind or other took place between them, and afterwards a disagreement, which ended in a law-suit. Fust, dissatisfied with his partner, brought an action for the recovery of certain monies which he had advanced to him, and ultimately obtained the following Notarial Act, or Judgment, in his favour.

This document is given in the original German, by Seckenburg, ‘*Selectis Juris et Historiarum*,’ Tom. I. pag. 269-277, and by Wolfius, ‘*Monumenta Typographica*,’ Tom. I. p. 472, seq.; besides which we have a French translation of it in Fournier, (*Dissert. II. p. 116, seq.*) which appears to be done with accuracy, and of which I have therefore availed myself.

#### *Law Process between Fust and Gutenberg, at Mentz, A. D. 1455.*

“ IN the name of God, amen. Be it known to all those who may see or hear read this public Act, that in the year from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1455, and on the third Indiction, on Thursday, the sixth day of the month called in Latin November, the first year of the coronation of our most holy Father and Lord Calixtus III. by divine providence Pope, between the



hours of 11 and 12 in the morning, at Mentz, in the great Hall of the bare-footed Monks, in the presence of me Notary public, and of the witnesses herein-after named, there has here presented himself in person the respectable and prudent Jacques Faust, Burgher of Mentz, and on the part of Joh. Faust his brother, who was also present, has shewn said and declared, that between the said Joh. Faust his brother, on the one part, and Joh. Gutenberg, on the other part, a particular day, at this hour of to-day, had been named, determined upon and appointed to the said Joh. Gutenberg, in the said Hall of the said place, to see and hear the said Joh. Faust make the oath which hath been ordered and imposed upon him, according to the tenour and contents of the judgment between the two parties; and, to the intent that the brothers of the said convent, assembled in the Hall of the said place, might not be inconvenienced nor interrupted, the said Jacques Faust caused it to be intimated by a messenger in the said Hall, that if Joh. Gutenberg, or any one on his part, was then in the convent upon the matter in question, he should present himself. After the said message and invitation, there came into the said Hall the respectable Sieur Henry Gunther, late Curate of St. Christopher's at Mentz, Henry Keffer, and Bechtold of Hanau, the servant and domestic of the said Joh. Gutenberg; and after the said Joh. Faust had inquired of them why and for what purpose they were present, and also if they were empowered in this affair on the part of Joh. Gutenberg, they answered, jointly and severally, that they had been sent by the Noble<sup>12</sup> Sieur Joh. Gutenberg to hear and see what was done in this matter. Thereupon Joh. Faust declared and protested, that in order to conform to the ordinance, he had come, and seated himself, and had waited for Joh. Gutenberg, the party opposed to him, until 12 o'clock, and that he still waited for him (Gutenberg) who had not yet appeared in person in this affair. He declared himself ready to perform that which was required by the judgment given upon the first count of his demand, according to its contents, which he caused to be read word for word, with the particulars of his claim and the answer given, of which the following is the

<sup>12</sup> " This passage," says Fournier, " where Gutenberg is styled *Noble*, and his retreat afterwards at the Court of Adolphus of Nassau, Elector of Mentz, in whose service he died, prove very clearly, that he was no artist, but only an intelligent and curious person who sought to make discoveries, and form enterprizes, *pursuits nowise derogatory to him as a nobleman.*" But what are we to say of the premiums exacted by him from his partners, during his previous residence at Strasburg, and of his taking his looking-glasses to sell at the fairs of Aix-la-Chapelle?

tenour: viz. That, he Joh. Faust had promised to the said Joh. Gutenberg, as is first stated in the letter of their agreement, *that he would advance to Joh. Gutenberg 800 florins in money, as a fixed sum, with which he was to perform the work in question; and that in case it should cost more or less, it was not to affect him;* and that Joh. Gutenberg was to give six florins per cent interest for these 800 florins: That therefore, he (Faust) had borrowed for him these 800 florins at interest, and had delivered them to him; but that Gutenberg not being satisfied, and having (afterwards) complained that these 800 florins were not sufficient, he, desirous to satisfy him, had advanced to him, besides the first 800 florins, another 800 florins, so that he had advanced to him 800 florins more than he was obliged to do by virtue of the above mentioned agreement; and, besides that, he had been obliged to pay 140 florins, as interest for the 800 florins which he had last advanced to him. And although the said Joh. Gutenberg had bound himself by the above agreement to pay to him six florins per cent interest upon the first 800 florins; nevertheless he had paid nothing in any one year, but he (Faust) had himself been obliged to pay the said interest, which altogether amounts to 250 florins; and as Joh. Gutenberg has never paid him this interest, namely the six florins upon the first 800 florins, nor the interest upon the last 800, and as he himself has been obliged at length to borrow this interest among the Christian and Jew money-lenders, and to give moreover a premium of 36 florins for the procuration of it, which, together with the principal sums, amounts in the whole to 2020 florins, just debt, he now demands of him the payment of the whole sum, so that he may not suffer loss.

“ To this Joh. Gutenberg has answered, that *Joh. Faust did indeed advance to him 800 florins, in order that with this money he should prepare and make his utensils*, with the condition that he should be satisfied with that sum, and should employ it to his use; [or rather to their joint use] that the utensils were to be considered as security to the said Joh. Faust, and that he (Faust) was annually to pay to him 300 florins for expences, as well as for the *wages of servants, rent, firing, parchment, paper, ink, &c.*: that if in future they should disagree, he (Gutenberg) was to give back to him his 800 florins, and that his utensils were then to be released; *that it was well understood that he was to complete the work with the money which he (Faust) had lent to him upon his pledges*, but that he considers that he was not obliged to employ these 800 florins in the making of books; and although it be stated in the above-mentioned letter of agreement, that he was to give six per cent interest; nevertheless



Joh. Faust promised that he would not ask him for this interest : and, further, that these 800 florins were not paid to him, according to the tenour of the agreement, all at one time, as he pretends in the first article of his demand ; and that, with regard to the last 800 florins, he is willing to render an account. He (Gutenberg) does not admit that he ought to pay either interest or usury, and he hopes that he will not be obliged to do so by the court ; all which has appeared in the demand, the answer, the reply, the rejoinder, and in various other written papers, &c.

“ Therefore we pronounce judicially in manner following : that when Joh. Gutenberg shall have rendered an account of all his receipts, and of the sums expended by him upon the work for the joint advantage, whatever further moneys he may have received, over and above, shall be counted in the 800 florins ; but that if it shall appear by the account, that Faust has advanced to him any money beyond the 800 florins, which has not been employed for their joint advantage, he (Gutenberg) shall repay it to him ;<sup>13</sup> and if Joh. Faust shall prove by oath, or other good evidence, that he borrowed the said

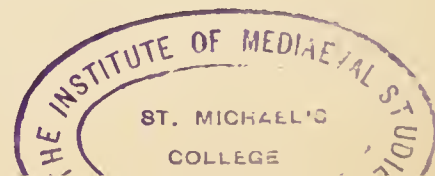
<sup>13</sup> “ Quand Jean Guttenberg aura rendu son compte de toutes les recettes et dépenses qu’il a faites pour l’ouvrage au profit commun, ce qu’il aura reçu de plus en argent au par dessus, sera compté dans les 800 florins ; mais s’il se trouve dans le compte, que Faust, lui a donné quelque chose de plus de 800 florins, qui n’auroit pas été employé pour leur profit commun il le lui rendra aussi,” &c. There is a good deal of obscurity in this passage : I suspect it to mean, that in case it should appear by the account, that Gutenberg had *bonâ fide* expended part of the second 800 florins upon the work for the joint advantage (notwithstanding he has originally undertaken to complete it with the first 800) such further sum should not be brought against him as a private debt ; in short, that Gutenberg was individually not to be the loser, because the work had cost more than he at first expected ; but that the further expence was to be divided equally between the two partners. It had been originally agreed, that the utensils to be made with the first 800 florins, were to be Fust’s security for the advance which he made of that sum, and I think it is here intended to say, that they are also to be considered as the proper security for any further sum that should appear to have been spent upon them ; but that whatever portion of the money Gutenberg had expended on his own private concerns, should be considered as a distinct debt, and be repaid by him to Fust, in full, from his own private funds. If Gutenberg chose to give up to Fust the apparatus which had been made with his money, his debt, for all that had been expended upon *it* would be liquidated ; (at least so I understand the passage) ; but he would still remain Fust’s debtor for such portions of his money as he had used for his own private purposes. Of course, by the payment of Fust’s entire demand, he would be entitled to the utensils.



money at interest, and that he did not advance it out of his own funds, then Joh. Gutenberg, shall also pay to him the said interest, according to the tenour of the letter of agreement. The said judgment, as we have just heard, having been read in presence of the above named Sr. Henry Gunther, and Henry Keffer, and Bechtold, servants of the said Joh. Gutenberg, the said Joh. Faust made oath, declared and asserted, his hand placed upon the sacred writings held by me, Notary Public, that all that was contained in a paper, according to the tenour of the judgment, which he then delivered to me, was entirely true and just, so help him God and the Saints. The tenour of the said paper is word for word thus: ‘ I Joh. Faust, did borrow fifteen hundred and fifty florins, which were delivered to Joh. Gutenberg, and have been employed for our joint advantage: I have been obliged annually to pay interest and usury for the same, and I still owe a part; therefore I charge him, for each hundred florins that I have borrowed, as is said above, six florins annually for the money borrowed, which he has received, and which has been employed upon our joint work, as appears in the account; I demand of him the interest, according to the tenour of the judgment; and, in proof that such is the fact, I am willing to abide, as is just, by the tenour of the judgment given upon the first count of the demand which I have made against the said Joh. Gutenberg.

Of all which matters set forth as above, the said Joh. Faust hath demanded of me, Notary Public, one or more public Acts, so many and as often as he may require: and all these things were done in the year, Indiction, day, hour, papacy, reign, month, and place above named, in presence of the respectable persons Pieter Grantz, Joh. Kislen, Joh. Knopff, Joh. Iseneckh, Jaques Faust, Burgher of Mentz, Pieter Girsheim, and Joh. Bonne, Clerks of the City and Bishoprick of Mentz, who were required and particularly invited to attend as witnesses. And I Ulric Helmasperger, clerk of the bishoprick of Bamberg, by Imperial authority Notary Public, and sworn Notary of the Holy See at Mentz, having myself assisted with the said witnesses, and having also heard them, have in proof thereof caused this public Act to be written by another, and have signed it with my own hand, and caused it to be marked with my ordinary mark, having been required to bear testimony to the truth of all the matters above stated.”

The above document, it will be perceived, is one of a series of judicial instruments, upon the matters disputed between Fust and



Gutenberg, and by no means the complete law-process. Hence, upon a first view, parts of it appear obscure ; the instrument being deficient in numerous interesting details of information, which, we may conclude, had been given in the earlier papers of the process, or were afterwards furnished in others. The exact amount to be paid back to Fust by Gutenberg, was to depend upon the account of receipts and disbursements which the latter was to prepare afterwards.

The date of the original agreement between the parties, is not mentioned : but as 6 per cent. interest was to be paid on the money advanced, and as, in November 1455, the interest due upon the first 800 florins was 250, which is 10 florins more than five years interest upon that sum, we may conclude that the agreement was entered into, and the first loan made in the summer of 1450 : the interest due upon the second 800 florins, was 140 florins ; that further sum, therefore, must have been advanced by Fust between two and three years after the first.

Santander, as will be seen hereafter, speaks of this agreement as *a general partnership between Fust and Gutenberg, for the formation of a printing establishment ; and he supposes that during the continuance of it, the first Latin Bible was printed*. But a later writer<sup>14</sup> considers it to have been merely a *contract*, by which, upon Fust agreeing to advance a stipulated sum, Gutenberg undertook *to print a particular book*, for their joint profit : though even this interpretation is at variance with Gutenberg's own declaration, that he considered *he was not obliged to employ the 800 florins originally advanced to him in the making of books*.

But whether it was a general partnership, or a contract for printing a particular book, it appears to me very clear, that, at the date of the above judgment, Gutenberg had not completed any. If, when the judgment was applied for, the supposed book had been finished, he would have been entitled to one-half share of the produce of its sale, which in any case would have diminished his debt : if, with

<sup>14</sup> *Née de la Rochelle*, 'Eloge Historique de Jean Guttenberg,' p. 63-4.



Santander, we suppose, it to have been the Bible, his share of the profits would have liquidated it, and left money in his pocket. Had that been the work, and had it then been in a state of forwardness, Gutenberg, in his Answer, might justly, and I should say successfully, have protested against so unworthy an attempt to deprive him of the fair reward of his talents and labours during the preceding five years ; for there appears to have been no disposition on the part of the court to treat him with harshness.

But no ! Gutenberg alleges nothing of the kind. He endeavours to vitiate his adversary's claim, by saying that the first 800 florins had not been advanced to him by Fust in one sum : to which objection Fust, I doubt not, was enabled to answer, that the money had always been ready and forthcoming, when wanted for the purchases and other expenses required ; and indeed, we see that, besides the first 800 florins, Fust afterwards advanced a second sum of 800 florins. Gutenberg says, also, that although, in the written contract, it was stated that the money advanced was to carry interest, Fust had verbally assured him that he would not ask him for the payment of it ; but this seems a very improbable story, and we see that the judges gave no credence to it. Add to this, that Gutenberg did not attend in person, when Fust confirmed the truth of his statement upon oath, in the presence of a solemn assembly, and obtained the above notarial act in his favour ; an occasion upon which his absence cannot be easily accounted for unless by supposing him to have been conscious that his cause was not a good one.

On the whole, I confess that, after perusing and re-perusing the above document with all the attention I am master of, the impression it leaves on my mind, and indeed, the only idea I can form of the transaction it refers to, that seems at all probable, is that Fust, after four or five years patient trial, found that Gutenberg was incompetent to perform the task he had undertaken, whatever it was, or that from indolence, he had neglected it ; that his money was going very fast, and there was little to shew for it ; and that he had discovered, as is hinted in the sentence, that no small portion of it had



been applied by Gutenberg to his own private purposes ; I do not mean with a fraudulent intention, but in consequence of the embarrassed state of his affairs.

Fust is commonly spoken of by bibliographical writers, as a wealthy man ; but the fact of his having been obliged to borrow the above two sums of 800 florins each, in order to advance them in this speculation, is no proof of it ; though we gather from his ability to raise the money, that he was a man of character and in good credit. It is, further, possible, that Fust had latterly heard, that the invention of the art of printing, which Gutenberg had some years before first communicated to him, as an idea of his own, was in point of fact, not so ; but had been taken by him from the Donatuses which had been before printed in Holland : nay, it is much in favour of this supposition, that Ulric Zell, who, as we have seen, stated this long afterwards to the editor of the Cologne Chronicle, was one of the earliest pupils of Fust and Schoeffer, and may therefore be reasonably supposed to have heard it from them, before he left Mentz.

Taking all these things into consideration, I cannot see that there is any good ground for the accusation of illiberality and unfairness, which some late writers have brought against Fust, for his endeavours in 1455, to get back the monies he had advanced to Gutenberg, by course of law.

Could these writers prove, as they assert, that the finely executed characters used in printing what they call the first Bible, and the Psalter of 1457, were the genuine work of Gutenberg, prepared between the years 1450-1455, under his particular direction and superintendence, at least, if not by his own hand, I should join with them in reprobating Fust's conduct, even though it were certain, that, at the date of the above instrument, Gutenberg had not printed a single page. But I suspect, with Fournier, that Gutenberg was but little of an artist ; that his mechanical talents were not great ; and that although he brought into the society *the first idea of printing*, nay, *perhaps, the first idea of printing with moveable characters*, (for, if we may judge from the account of Trithemius, presently to be pro-

duced, this last is not so certain,) he was unable to plan the necessary machinery, and to direct the different processes required to make the embryo art available to the purpose desired.

It is the fashion with the eulogists of Gutenberg, to speak of Fust merely as the monied partner. But if, as is said, he had been brought up a goldsmith, he may reasonably be supposed to have possessed acquirements applicable to the art which now engaged his attention, and among others the arts of carving, chiselling and casting. If we suppose Fust not to have busied himself at all with the various details and processes of the new art, during the above five years partnership, but that he left the entire direction and management of every thing to Gutenberg (as these writers would have us to believe) he must, one would think, have been but ill able to do without him, when, in 1455, he brought the above action for the recovery of the monies he had advanced : and this objection to their system, appears to me to be worthy of consideration, nay to be almost decisive.

Again, the above agreement between Fust and Gutenberg, was entered into in 1450. But it does not follow that no previous connection had existed between them. Fust appears as a witness to a deed of purchase made by Gutenberg in 1448 ; and it is by no means improbable that their intimacy had commenced immediately after Gutenberg established himself at Mentz ; and that, some years before the date of the above agreement, Fust had assisted with his wits and hands, as well as with his money, in perfecting the art and bringing it into operation.

We know not when Schoeffer first began to be employed in it ; but there can be no doubt that at the date of the present notarial act, which he attested on the part of Fust, under the name of Pieter Girsheim, he was thoroughly skilled in the business ; and it is very probable, that, for a considerable time previously, he had acted as foreman in the new establishment.

According to the above writers, the separation of the two partners was the consequence of this law-suit ; indeed it seems probable, that it had taken place sometime previously, at the commencement of the



law proceedings between them. They add, that Gutenberg was unable to pay the money awarded against him; and that Fust, therefore, became the sole proprietor of all the beautiful type which Gutenberg had prepared during the preceding five years; namely, that which was used for what they call the first Bible (which book it is insisted must have been very nearly, if not quite, completed, at the date of the above notarial act of 1455), and that which afterwards appeared in the Psalter of 1457. But these are but conjectures; for, as far as I can learn, it is not on record in what way Gutenberg's debt to Fust was settled; and although it is very certain that these two sets of type subsequently belonged to Fust and Schoeffer, we have no proof that Gutenberg made either of them. There is, I think, far better reason to believe that they were chiefly the handy work of Pieter Shoeffler; who is known to have been eminent as a calligraphist, before he entered the service of Fust, and applied his talents to the perfecting of the new art: and, indeed, the finely cut letters of both of these works, and especially the decorated initials of the Psalter, with their bold, and at the same time intricate flourishes, are just such as might be expected from a person, who, like him, had long been an expert practitioner of ornamental writing.

In what way Gutenberg employed Fust's money during the above five years, I do not undertake to say: but if the first Bible was in a state of forwardness at the date of this notarial act, it must, I think, have been printed, not by Gutenberg, but by Fust and Schoeffer; and the work which Gutenberg had undertaken to execute, and had been employed upon at the same time, must have been something else, now unknown. There is, indeed, a circumstance, which seems to put this matter beyond all doubt; namely, that P. Schoeffer himself, relating to Trithemius the difficulties which had been encountered in the infancy of the art of printing, informed him that, *in Printing the Bible, they were obliged to expend more than 4,000 florins before the third gathering was completed*. Now Gutenberg's debt to Fust, including interest, was but 2,020 florins, and we may therefore conclude that it did not originate in the printing of that work.



*Declaration of Conrad Humery, respecting certain Printing Apparatus, formerly appertaining to Gutenberg ; Mentz, 1468.*

It is well known, that no book has hitherto been found, bearing the name of Gutenberg, as the printer ; and hence it has been doubted, whether, after his separation from Fust, he ever printed at all. It is insisted, however, by those writers who consider Gutenberg to have been the master genius by whom the art of printing was invented, perfected, and brought into use, and that Fust was a mere money-lender, who took unfair advantage of his necessities, that immediately, or soon after the date of the above notarial act of 1455, one Conrad Humery, came forward with the necessary funds to set him up again in a new printing establishment ; in proof of which, they produce the following document, written apparently soon after the death of Gutenberg :

“ I Conrad Humery, doctor, make known by these presents, that whereas the very revered Prince, my gracious and beloved Lord and master, Adolphus Archbishop of Mentz, has graciously permitted certain *forms, letters, instruments, utensils, and other things pertaining to printing*, which Johan. Gudenberg left at his death, to come into my possession, and which have been and still are mine ; I, in consideration of this favour, did bind, and do bind myself by these presents, as follows : namely, that *should I hereafter make use of the said forms and utensils for printing, I will do so in the city of Mentz, and not elsewhere* : and, further, that, in case I should desire to sell them, and a citizen should be willing to give as much for them as a stranger, I will dispose of and deliver them to the resident citizen, in preference of any stranger. In assurance of which, I have affixed my signature and my seal to these presents, this Friday after the feast of St. Matthew, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1468.”

Now this document furnishes very fair grounds for the supposition that Gutenberg died, owing money to Humery ; it is evident from it, that the Archbishop Adolphus, upon Gutenberg's death, permitted Humery to possess himself of the printing apparatus which he had

left; and it is besides very clear, that *the Archbishop desired that this apparatus should be preserved in the city of Mentz, as a monument of the first beginnings of an art, the promulgation of which, had already conferred so much honour upon the capital of his dominions.* But more than this, I cannot make of it.

The above writers, however, see in this Declaration good proof, that immediately, or very soon after the judgment given against Gutenberg in 1455, (in consequence of which, as they have told us, all the fine type, &c. prepared by him during the previous five years, fell into the hands of Fust,) the said Humery generously advanced the money necessary to set him up again in a new printing office. But Gutenberg, as we have seen, had the power to redeem all his apparatus, by merely repaying to Fust the money which he had expended upon it; and therefore, if during this period he had made all the fine type in question, &c. (to say nothing of the first Bible, which these writers tell us was also nearly finished) it would surely have been wiser in Humery, or any other monied friend of Gutenberg, desirous of serving him, to have paid off Fust's debt at once, and so to have got possession of what would have enabled Gutenberg to commence printing immediately; than, thus, to have placed him in the situation of having, again, to begin every thing *de novo*.

But if the words of the above document be insufficient to prove the re-establishment of Gutenberg's press, after his separation from Fust; the same will not be objected against the following; which is said to have been found, about the year 1800, by a Mr. Bodman, in the Archives of Mentz, and which, as it is the only one that makes mention of Books printed by Gutenberg, whether during his partnership with Fust, or afterwards, I here lay before the reader.

*Agreement between Gutenberg and his brothers, &c. and the Nuns of the Convent of St. Clair, at Mentz, A. D. 1459.*

“ We Henne (Joh.) Genszfleisch of Sulgeloeh, called Gudinberg, and Friele Genszfleisch, brothers, affirm and publicly declare by these presents, and make known to all, that, with the council and-consent of our dear cousins Johan and



Friele and Pedirmann Gensfleisch, brothers in Mentz, we have renounced and do renounce by these presents, for us and our heirs, singly, together, and at once, without fraud or reserve, all the property that has passed by our sister Hebele to the convent of St. Clair at Mentz, in which she has become a nun; whether the said property has been received by her on the part of our father Henne Genszfleisch, or been given by himself, or in whatsoever other manner, whether in grain, money, furniture, jewelry, or of whatever kind it may be, which the respectable nuns, the Abbess and sisters of the said convent, have received, whether as a body or individually, or which other persons of the convent may have received from the said Hebele, be it great or small; and we have promised and do promise by these presents, in good faith, for us and our heirs, that neither we, nor any person on our part, nor our above-named cousins nor their heirs, nor any person on their part, shall demand back or reclaim from the said convent, or from the abbess, or from the convent as a body, or from any persons who reside there individually, the said property, be it what it may, either in whole or in part, and that we will never demand it back, whether by the ecclesiastical or civil judge, or without the assistance of the judge, and that neither we nor our heirs will ever molest the said convent, by word or deed, either secretly or publicly, in any manner whatever. And, *with respect to the Books which I, the above named Henne, have given to the library of the convent, they are to remain there always, and in perpetuity, and I the above-named Henne, purpose to give also, and without fraud, to the said convent for its library, for the use of the nuns present and future, for their religious services, whether in reading or singing, or in whatever manner they may please to make use of them, according to the rules of their order,* THE BOOKS WHICH I, THE ABOVE-NAMED HENNE, HAVE ALREADY PRINTED UP TO THE PRESENT HOUR, OR THAT I MAY PRINT IN FUTURE, SO FAR AS THEY SHALL BE PLEASED TO MAKE USE OF THEM; and in consideration of this, the above-mentioned Abbess and the nuns of the said convent of St. Clair, have, for themselves and their successors, declared and promised, that *they will absolve me and my heirs from the claim which my sister Hebele had to 60 florins, which I and my brother Friele had promised to pay and deliver to the said Hebele, as her dower, and as the share, coming from the estate of Henne our father, which he assigned to her as her portion,* in virtue of a certain instrument drawn up for that purpose, without fraud or deceit. And in order that this (agreement) may be held firmly and fully binding by us and by our heirs, we have given to the said nuns, and to their convent and order, the present letters, sealed with our seals;



signed and delivered, the year of the birth of J. C. 1459, on the day of St. Margaret," (July 20).

It will be observed, that this document speaks in the most clear and simple manner of the books printed by Gutenberg, and without any of the mysterious expressions which we find in the colophons of the first printed editions of Fust and Schoeffer, such as : "*non stili aut penne suffragio sed nova artificiosaque invencione*," &c. How much is it to be regretted, that so curious a paper was not found pasted within the cover of one of the numerous presentation copies of Gutenberg's typographical productions, with which the convent of this learned sisterhood must have abounded : in which case the curious in antiquities of this kind, would no longer have to lament that *not even one volume has yet been found that can with any certainty be ascribed to the press of Joh. Gutenberg*. But though all that relates to printing is so very clear, the rest of the document, the business part of it, appears to me quite inexplicable. Gutenberg is indebted to the nuns of St. Clair, in the amount of 60 florins,—being his sister's fortune, left to her by her father,—and he modestly tells them in this instrument, that provided they forgive him the debt, neither he nor his relations will in future bring any action of debt against them. It does not appear that the nuns owe Gutenberg or his relations a single farthing ; and I cannot conceive any right that he, or they, or their heirs, could ever have to call upon the sisterhood for the restitution of property formerly received by them upon taking Hebele into their convent, or on any subsequent occasion. Nor can I persuade myself, that Gutenberg's promise to give them such books as he should in future print, could have been sufficient to induce them to give up the above 60 florins—sixty good pieces of gold, no doubt—or that, had they been so minded, the Archbishop of Mentz would have permitted it : for, I believe, most convents of nuns, in those as in later times, were under the immediate protection and government of the bishop of the diocese. In short, notwithstanding the four seals attached to this document, inscribed : *S : hans genszfleisch vō Sorgēloch ; S : friele . genszfleisch vō . . . . loch, S :*

*hen . . . . . sch vō Sulgeloeh ; and frile genszfleisch*, and which are copied by Fisher, in his ‘*Essai sur le Monumens Typographiques de Jean Gutenberg*,’ I confess I have great doubts of its genuineness, though perhaps they are ill-founded.

But, for the sake of argument, we will suppose, this document to be genuine ; and in this case, what does it prove ? Does it prove that the finely cut types of the supposed first Bible, and of the Psalter which was finished by Fust and Schoeffer in 1457, had been made by Gutenberg, but had fallen into the hands of Fust in consequence of the law process of 1455 ; and that Conrad Humery immediately afterwards advanced the money necessary to set Gutenberg up again, and to enable him to make new type ? I think not ; but that rather it is fair to conclude from it, that Gutenberg, upon separating from Fust, retained the forms (engraved wooden-blocks perhaps) and other printing apparatus, with which he had so long been making experiments ; (and which could not be of importance to Fust, who aided by the intelligent Schoeffer, well knew how to make better) ; that with these he had printed, in very large characters, perhaps, some small devotional works, and in 1459 still purposed to print others ; and that after his death these same forms and other apparatus came into the possession of Humery.

I shall close this chapter with the short History of the Invention of Printing, which is given by Trithemius ; and which, as he assures us, he received from the mouth of Peter Schoeffer.

*The Account of the Invention of Printing, by Trithemius, in the ‘Annales Hirsaugienses,’ placed by him under the year 1450.*

“ At this time, the admirable and before unheard of art of printing books, was conceived and invented at Mentz, a city of Germany, on the Rhyne ; and not in Italy, as some have falsely written, by Joh. Guttenberg, a citizen of that town. This person, having ruined his fortune in prosecuting the invention of this art, and being greatly embarrassed, as sometimes he found the want of one requisite and sometimes of another, had well nigh given it up in despair ; when, with the advice and pecuniary assistance of Joh. Fust, of Mentz, he completed it (or succeeded in bringing it into operation). At first,



they printed with characters, traced in order upon blocks of wood in the form of pages, a vocabulary, called *Catholicon*; <sup>15</sup> but with these small pages, or forms, they were unable to print anything else; because, as we have said, the characters were engraved on these blocks of wood, and were not moveable. After this, more subtle inventions followed, and they found out the method of casting the forms (or moulds) of all the letters of the Latin alphabet, which they called matrixes, out of which they cast back again characters of brass or pewter, capable of bearing the force of the press; whereas, before, they had cut them by hand. And in fact, as I was assured thirty years ago <sup>16</sup> from the mouth of Pieter Opilio (or Schoeffer) de Gernsheim, a citizen of Mentz, who was the son-in-law of the first inventor, very great difficulties were encountered in the first invention of this art of printing. For in printing the Bible, they were obliged to expend more than 4,000 florins, before the third gathering was completed. This Pieter Opilio, however, who was then the assistant, and afterwards, as we have said, became the son-in-law of the first inventor, Joh. Fust, being a man of sense and ingenuity, afterwards discovered a more easy method of casting the characters, perfecting the art, as we now have it. And these three for some time kept the art of printing a secret; though at length, by means of the workmen, without whose help it could not be carried on, it became known, first at Strasburg, and soon after in all countries.

“ O foelix nostris memoranda impressio saeculis ! &c. &c.

“ And let this suffice of the wonderful and subtle art of printing, of which the first inventors were citizens of Mentz. The three first inventors of the art of printing, namely Joh. Guttenberg, Joh. Fust, and Pieter Opilio, his son-in-law, resided at Mentz, in the house called *Zum Jungen*, which afterwards was called the printing-house, as it is at the present day.”

<sup>15</sup> It seems very improbable that Trithemius could here mean to speak of so large a work as that now known under the name of the *Catholicon*, which is a Dictionary, occupying two immense folio volumes. Heineken suspects, not unreasonably, that he intended to speak of a *Donatus*, perhaps the same of which three of the original blocks exist at this day; two in the Royal Library at Paris, (formerly in the Library de la Valliere,) and the third in the collection of the Baron Westrenen, at the Hague.

<sup>16</sup> Trithemius is said to have finished the above ‘Annals’ in 1514, and therefore heard this account from Schoeffer about 1484; he (Trithemius) being then twenty-two years old. See *Meerman*, Tom. II. p. 101, note *m*.



## CHAPTER V.

### A REVIEW OF THE CONTROVERSY.

#### *The System of Meerman.*

THROUGHOUT the first half of the last century, the opinion was very prevalent, at least in this country, that the Art of Printing was first invented from anno 1430 to 1440, by Lawrence Coster, at Haerlem, who practised it however, it was said, in but a very rude manner, and that it was afterwards brought to perfection and promulgated at Mentz; though our writers of this period, as may be seen in a long miscellaneous article in 'the Philosophical Transactions abridged,' (Part II., &c. Chap. I.) express themselves upon the subject so obscurely and confusedly, that it is sometimes difficult to make out their meaning.

In 1765, the great work of Meerman appeared, entitled 'Origines Typographicæ;' in which, taking for his text the narrative of Junius, given in our first chapter, he assures us that the art of printing with moveable characters, was invented about the year 1430, by one Laurence Janssoen, of Haerlem, who, from his office of Custos of the great church there, was called Coster; whom he also supposes to have been the publisher, if not the engraver, of several of those sets of woodcuts with accompanying inscriptions, which are known under the name of Block-books. His moveable types, however, he tells us, were not cast, or cut in metal, but were carved on small pieces of wood; and in this way he not only printed at least two editions of the *Donatus*, a small grammar then and long afterwards much in use, but also an edition of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, translated into the Dutch language; namely, that edition of which two copies are now preserved at the Hotel de Ville, at Haerlem. Coster, he says, died

about 1440 ; and the three other ancient editions of the work, two of them in Latin and the other in Dutch—and of which correct descriptions will hereafter be given—were printed after his death by his successors ; who continued to carry on the printing business at Haerlem, until about the year 1472, when a better mode of printing having been introduced by the disciples of the Mentz school, they sold off their stock and retired.

In one important point, Meerman's account differs from that of Junius ; viz. in denying that Coster ever used types of metal ; for although Junius speaks of his having at first made his characters of wood, he certainly says that he afterwards made them of lead, and lastly of pewter. The respectable Enschede, the printer of Haerlem, in vain assured Meerman, that the Dutch *Speculum* first mentioned, as well as the others, was printed with cast metal type, and that to prepare and print with separate wooden characters of such moderate dimensions as those of that work, was impossible. Junius, it is true, is not very clear in this part of his account, which taken strictly, according to the order in which his sentences follow each other, may bear the interpretation Meerman has given to it, so far as concerns the *Speculum* : but this writer would have done wisely to listen to the remonstrances of so well qualified a judge as Enschede ; and that he should not have done so is the less pardonable, as his predecessor in the controversy, Scriverius, had long before noticed and corrected the careless inaccuracy of Junius in this particular of his narrative.

Meerman, although a strenuous supporter of his country's cause, shows great liberality to the opposite party. Not long before he wrote, Schöpflin had published, in his ' *Vindiciæ Typographicæ*,' the celebrated law process, said to have taken place at Strasburg, in the year 1439, between Gutenberg and certain associates of his, whom he had engaged to instruct in secret arts : and which is already before the reader.

In this document, as we have seen, are several depositions, which, Schöpflin insisted, bear reference to an attempt made by Gutenberg at that time to print with moveable type. Meerman not only gives



this process entire, both in the original German and in Schöpfli's free Latin translation ; but, with chivalrous courtesy, admits the latter to be expressive of the true meaning of the obscure original. And as one of these depositions (that of Joh. Dunne) makes mention of money received by the deponent from Gutenberg three years previously, for matters concerning impression, he even acknowledges it to be proved by this document, that so early as 1436 or 1437, Gutenberg was occupied at Strasburg in attempts to print with moveable types.

But if this was the case, and if, in the year 1438, he was so well versed in typography as to have *four pages of moveable type standing in his press at a time*, (as is expressly stated in the Latin translation of this process), where could have been the necessity for the robbery of Coster's type, which Junius says was committed in 1440, or 1441, by one of his workmen, who took it to Mentz, where in the year following one or two small works were printed with it ?

Meerman, however, is not to be disconcerted by such objections. Coster, he says, had invented the art at least as early as 1430, about which time he printed the above-mentioned 'Dutch Speculum : ' and he accounts for Gutenberg's attempts at printing with moveable characters at Strasburg, from 1436 or 7 to 1439, by conjecturing, that about 1435, he had visited Haerlem to see a brother of his, who was one of Coster's workmen ; upon which occasion he got some little insight into the new art, enough to make him set his wits to work when he got back to Strasburg ; though, until after the robbery had put him into possession of the types, themselves, of the Dutch printer, he was unable to turn his newly acquired knowledge to any account.

I have already shewn that it is very doubtful if the Strasburg process relates at all to printing : Meerman's *Dutch Speculum*, which he supposes to have been printed about the year 1430, with wooden types, happens to be *the fourth*, and not *the first edition of the book*, as I shall hereafter prove by incontrovertible evidence ; and therefore must have been printed many, many years later than the date he has assigned to it : and, on the whole, his defence against the supposed allegations in the said process, reminds me of a story, I have



somewhere heard or read, of a man who was sued at law for the payment of goods falsely declared to have been sold and delivered to him ; and whose counsel, on the day of trial, instead of attempting to disprove the false testimony of the plaintiff's witnesses, as to the sale and delivery of the goods, produced other witnesses, who declared that they were present at the time, and saw them paid for.

The work of Meerman is universally acknowledged to be one of great erudition. For the rest, I should say, that it shews more ingenuity than judgment. He appears not to have been sufficiently alive to the immense difference between conjecture and proof ; and, as Santander observes, " he ranges chronologically the different supposed productions of Coster's press, from 1430 to 1448, according to his fancy, with such an air of confidence, that, whilst reading his account, one can hardly help believing that the pieces he is speaking of had each the date of its impression at full length in the colophon."

In one respect, however, the cause of Haerlem owes him great obligations ; since he first, if I mistake not, published fac-similes of fragments of ' Donatuses' found in Holland ; two of them printed with the same identical type as two of the editions of the *Speculum* ; and, which, therefore, we may conclude, were printed at the same press : thus affording a connecting link between the testimony of Junius and that of Ulrich Zell in the *Cologne Chronicle*, which was much wanted.

It must appear evident to every one who examines Meerman's work with attention, that he has throughout asserted many things without due proof. Still there is such an air of authority in his manner of writing, and his whole performance bears so much the appearance of one of deep research, that it can scarcely be wondered at, if for a short time his opinions and conjectures passed current in the world for established truths : and indeed they appear to have been received as such, even by an eminent person of a profession whose first duty it is carefully to examine evidence ; as may be seen in a long note upon the *Invention of Printing*, in the fourth volume of Sir James Burrow's ' *Reports*,' which that writer introduces upon

occasion of the important cause of ‘*Millar v. Taylor*,’ with this prefatory remark :

“ *Memorandum.*

“ In a former account of this case, which (at the request of several of my most learned and respectable friends) I communicated to the public, some time ago, in a detached piece, I inserted a marginal note upon Lord Mansfield’s mentioning that ‘ printing was introduced in the reign of Edw. 4th or Hen. 6,’ which marginal note was not only unnecessary and improper, but grossly erroneous, and false in fact. I have never been able to recollect or discover what led me into such an egregious blunder. The only method that occurs to me of making compensation for it, is to endeavour to fix with some degree of accuracy and precision, by this present note, the real and true times and persons, when and by whom the art of printing was originally discovered; and when and how it was afterwards first introduced into this country.”

The subject of the latter part of this note does not concern our present inquiry. But, whatever had been the former opinions of Sir James Burrow upon the origin of typography, it is evident, from what he here says on that head, that Meerman had in all respects made a convert of him; and in fact, his note is little else than an abstract of the work of that writer, though he entirely omits to acknowledge his obligations to him.

“ HAARLEM, MENTZ, and STRASBURGH,” he tells us, “ seem to have the best pretensions, with regard to the *original invention*. VENICE has a better claim to the improvement, than to the first rudiments. For Nicolas Jenson, who is generally supposed to have first taught the art of printing to the Venetians, did not begin printing there till the year 1470: and if John of Spira’s claims should be allowed, who says, ‘ that he was the first who had ever printed in that city,’ yet his pretensions go only a year or two further backward . . . . . whereas the first rudiments of the art, the first rough specimens, the first essay with *separate wooden types*, if not elsewhere, yet, at least at Haarlem, was about thirty years anterior to those dates. . . . . Dr. Middleton goes so far as to say, ‘ that it is certain, beyond all doubt, that printing was first invented and propagated from Mentz.’ Others ascribe it to Haarlem, and it is true of each, in a qualified sense, if printing on *fusile*



*separate types* be considered as the invention of printing. In this sense, the improvement is the title to the merit of the invention: but the original thought and first attempt belong to another person, and probably would never have occurred to the improver. At Haarlem, it was first thought of, by Laurentius, about 1430; and practised by him there with *separate wooden types*: it was afterwards practised at Mentz, with *metal types*, first *cut*, and then *cast*, invented there by one of the two brothers of the name of Geinsfleisch; probably by the elder John Geinsfleisch, about the year 1442, when he published his first essays on wooden types, which had not answered his expectations. However, both the brothers have been called *proto-charagmatici*: this invention of printing with metal types was called ‘*Ars characterizandi*.’ The cut metal types were further improved by John Fust of Mentz, who, in 1452, completed the art by the help of his servant Peter Schoeffer, whom he adopted for his son, and to whom he gave his daughter in marriage, *pro dignâ laborum multarumque ad inventionum remuneratione*. So that the original *foundation* of the art of printing, in general, seems to have been laid at Haarlem, and the *improvements* made at Mentz. As to Strasburgh, it can have no pretensions nearly equal to either Haarlem or Mentz. Gutenberg endeavoured to attain the art whilst he resided in that city; and his first attempts were made in 1436, with wooden types. But he and his partners were never able to bring the art to perfection. He quitted Strasburgh in 1444 or 1445, greatly involved in debt, and obliged to sell all that he had.

“THE TRUE ORIGINAL INVENTOR of printing,” continues Burrows, “seems to have been Laurentius of Haarlem, son of John, who was son of another Laurence. His first works, in one of which (the *Speculum Salutis*) he introduced pictures on wooden blocks, were printed on *separate moveable wooden types*, fastened together by threads. He did not live to see the art brought to perfection. He died in 1440, aged 70; and was succeeded either by his son-in-law Thomas Peter, who married his only daughter Lucia, or by their immediate descendants Peter, Andrew, and Thomas; who seem to have been industrious, and printed neatly, with separate wooden types. Their last known work was printed at Haarlem in 1472; soon after which they disposed of all their materials, and probably quitted their employment. Laurentius’s types were stolen, soon after his death. The thief was one of his workmen, and his name was John; and there is little doubt of his being a native of Mentz, to which place he conveyed them, and settled there; but it is not so certain what was his surname. It is most probable, (all things being



fully considered) that this dishonest and unfaithful servant was John Geinsfleisch Senior, elder brother of Gutenberg, who was born at Mentz, but had resided at other places. As he stole the types from Haerlem with a view to set up for himself elsewhere, it was natural for him to make choice of Mentz, his native city. Accordingly, he took the shortest route, through Amsterdam and Cologne, to Mentz; where he fixed his residence in the year 1441, and in 1442, published two small works. It is said, in a Lambeth record, which will be hereafter taken notice of, ‘that Mentz gained the art, by the brother of one of the workmen of Haerlem, who learnt it at home of his brother, who afterwards set up for himself at Mentz.’ But Gutenberg, the younger brother, never was a servant to Laurentius. It was the elder brother, who having learnt the art by being servant to the first inventor, stole his types, and carried them to Mentz, his native country. And it must be this elder brother, who instructed his younger brother Gutenberg, in the art; which younger brother first applied himself to the business at Strasburg, and not succeeding there (as has been before mentioned) quitted Strasburg, and joined his elder brother, who had in the meantime settled at Mentz.”

I shall have occasion to speak of the above mentioned Lambeth record, in a future page; and of the different opinions which have been entertained by learned men concerning its genuineness.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE SYSTEM OF HEINECKEN.

BUT the typographical history of Meerman, received a rude attack in 1771, in the well known work entitled, ‘*Idée Générale d’une Collection Complète d’Estampes*,’ by Heinecken; a writer to the full as much alive to the honour of his country, Germany, as Meerman had shown himself zealous for that of Holland. The authority of Heinecken, has been considered by later writers as *oracular*, in all that relates to engraving, and the connection of that art with ancient typography; and it will therefore be necessary for us carefully to examine his pretensions.

The scope of his work required from him some notice of the numerous ancient books of wood-engravings with inscriptions, which were executed, it is probable, in distant parts of Europe, in the fifteenth century, and are known under the denomination of Block-books. Heinecken gives a detailed and very interesting description of all the works of this kind with which he was acquainted; and so far the world is much indebted to him. But, in doing this, he very complacently ascribes them all to Germany; though, as will be shown in a future page, there is strong reason to believe that the best of them were executed elsewhere.

The ‘*Speculum Humanae Salvationis*,’ as it has the text printed with moveable type, if we except twenty pages in one of the editions, ought not, strictly speaking, to be classed amongst these block-books: but, as it resembles them in several particulars, in the size and quality of the paper, in the leaves being printed only on one side, and in the cuts being taken off in a brown tint by friction, it has commonly been

ranged with them ; and indeed, if this were not done, it would be necessary to place it in a class by itself, intermediate between them and the ordinary productions of the printing-press. It therefore appears in Heinecken's work, where it affords him the opportunity of giving his opinions on the invention of typography.

Heinecken, as has been said, ascribes all the block-books, or at least the first editions of all of them, to the artists of Germany. Indeed, both the arts of wood-engraving and copper-plate engraving, were, he assures us, invented and first practised in that country. Speaking of playing cards, from the use of which the former art is very commonly thought to have originated, he maintains (p. 244) that the circumstance of their having been known about 1376, in France, "is a sufficient proof that they were known previously in Germany." Nay, "our total ignorance respecting the first engravers in wood, is also a great argument for Germany. For if that art had been invented in any other country, their ancient writers," he tells us, (p. 285) "would not have failed to mention it." As if the same argument might not be applied with equal force against Germany ; since the writers of that country preserve the same silence respecting the invention of wood-engraving, as do those of other European nations.

Speaking of engraving on copper, he thus expresses himself :

"Although it be very indifferent, as regards the art itself, to know who was the first engraver ; it cannot be uninteresting to the curious to know in what country they must look for the commencement of engraving ; and I am convinced that those who search for it out of Germany, will lose their labour."

We learn in another place, that the central parts of Germany have his preference. For he says (p. 222), that "he is persuaded the first inventors of the art resided either at Culmbach, or at Nuremberg, or at Augsburg." After having mentioned some of the supposed earliest German engravers, (the meagre list of which, by the by, he afterwards takes care to swell out, by uniting them in one undistinguished mass with the early engravers of the Low Countries), he says, (p. 224) that "when he considers this series of artists, and calculates the time when they may be supposed to have begun to engrave on metal," (of course



for the purpose of impression) “ he is tempted to place the epoch of the invention at least as early as 1440.”

One cannot but admire the adroitness with which, in this last passage, Heinecken attempts, by one stroke of his pen, to annihilate the pretensions of Maso Finiguerra, an eminent Florentine artist, to whom Vasari, the oldest historian we have on the subject, attributes the invention in question, and who places it about 1460 ; though it is now known, with certainty, that he practised it at least eight or ten years earlier. The name of Maso, however, could not be entirely omitted in the catalogue of Italian artists, and at pp. 139, 140, we read as follows :

“ According to Vasari and other writers of his country, this art was invented about 1460, by Maso Finiguerra, a goldsmith ; and perhaps they are not wrong, if they speak only of Italy. It is very possible that engraving may have been practised long previously in Germany, and that the Italians may have been ignorant of it. The inhabitants of Italy, if we except the Venetians, had not then much intercourse with us, so that Finiguerra may very well have discovered the art at Florence, without knowing that it had been before invented in Germany. All objects of merchandize came to the Italians from Antwerp ; so that they had more connection with the Low Countries, than with the provinces of Germany. It is, however, remarkable, that we cannot produce with certainty any print by this famous Finiguerra,<sup>17</sup> though, perhaps, among the numerous pieces of foliage and grotesques, which we possess, engraved certainly by Italian goldsmiths, there may be some by his hand.”

The way in which Heinecken comes to the conclusion that engraving was invented in Germany at least as early as 1440, is very ingenious ; and by the same mode of argument he might, if it had so pleased him, have carried back the introduction of the art in that country to soon after the time of Tubal Cain. We have several plates bearing the dates 1466 and 1467, by an artist whose name is

<sup>17</sup> This can now no longer be said, since *Zani's* discovery of an impression, on paper, from the celebrated *Pax* of the Assumption, which was engraved on silver by *Finiguerra*, for the church of San Giovanni at Florence ; and which was finished by him with *niello* in the year 1452 ; after which, no impression from the plate could possibly be taken.

unknown, (and whose place of residence, by the by, there seems reason to believe was not the central part of Germany, but rather the Low Countries.) This artist, he observes, must have learned the art from some one who practised it before him. And again :

“ The most ancient known artist, whose epoch we can fix with certainty, is Martin Schoen, although he is by no means the first. He was a goldsmith, a painter, and an engraver, who was born at Culmbach, and established himself at Colmar in Alsace, where he died in 1486,” (p. 218). “ We have but to examine his prints, which we may consider as engraved from 1460 to 1486, and we shall see that they are the productions of one well-instructed in the use of the burin,” (p. 219). “ Some state one Luprecht Rust to have been the master of Martin Schoen. But whoever was his master, he must have been more ancient than his disciple. Suppose him to have preceded Schoen by only ten years, and we shall have the year 1450, as an epoch at which the art of engraving was certainly practised in Germany,” &c. (p. 220).

It is evident that, whilst writing all this, Heinecken entirely forgot, that the invention the Italians lay claim to, is not that of engraving on plates of metal, which it would be easy to shew was practised throughout the civilized world, from the most ancient times ; and was certainly carried to a very high degree of perfection in the decoration of plate, by Finiguerra, and other Italian Goldsmiths, in the middle of the fifteenth century ; but the discovery of the mode of taking impressions from engraved plates on paper ; and the consequent application of the art to the useful purposes of publication, by means of plates engraved upon copper, and printed with the rolling-press.

But let us return to engraving in wood. Speaking of the engravers of the Low Countries, (p. 196, et seq.) Heinecken expresses himself as follows :

“ According to the sentiment of the Dutch writers, it would be proper to begin this article with the works of Lawrence Coster ; especially as Meerman has taken so much pains to realize the tale put forth by Adrian Junius ; having even gone so far as to maintain, that this Laurence was the inventor of wood-engraving. It will be more clearly seen in the class of the German school, that this pretended inventor never engraved any print with figures : and it is



almost certain ("probablement certain,") that he never printed any book whatever. But this is not the place to discuss this point.

"I have, seen," he continues, "no book with a date, printed in the Low Countries, before 1472. Nor did Jacob Visser know of one, who has published the Catalogue of all the books printed in that country before 1500. I have seen no book published there, containing wood-cuts, before 1476. It was Johan. Veldener, who employed them in his edition of the 'Fasciculus Temporum,' a book which had been printed in Germany, several years before the appearance of this edition at Louvain. But neither the name, nor the country of the artist, who engraved the cuts, is known. Nevertheless it is probable, that Veldener, who was a great lover of wood-engravings, and who had learned typography in Germany, it is probable, I say, if he was not the engraver himself, that he took with him an engraver in wood, upon the occasion of establishing himself at Louvain, of which I shall speak elsewhere . . .

"I have found," says Heinecken, "in the collections of the Abbé de Marolles, in the cabinet of the King of France, a detached piece, which, in my opinion, is the most ancient of those engraved in wood in the Low Countries, and which bears the name of the artist. This print, which represents two soldiers standing, and a woman seated with a dog on her lap, in small folio, is inscribed: *Gheprint t' Antwerpen by my Phillery de figursnider*; that is, 'printed at Antwerp, by me Phillery the engraver of figures.' It serves to prove, that the engravers of these wooden blocks were also, in these ancient times, the printers of them at Antwerp."

Now, if we were to take this as a fair specimen of Heinecken's connoisseurship, (and it would not be difficult to point out other instances of similar blunders, as well in this work, as in his 'Dictionnaire des Artistes,') we should be at once justified in styling him a person very incompetent to pass a judgment upon any work of fine art whatever, and quite unqualified to decide as to the style, the school, or the probable date of any engraving that should chance to come before him. For this wood-cut, which it is evident he considered a performance of the fifteenth century, happens to be no other than an indifferent copy, with the omission of the landscape back-ground, of a wood-engraving by *Urs Graaf*, a Swiss artist, bearing on the trunk of a tree in the middle of the print, his monogram composed of a V and a G, with the date 1524. A correct imitation





Geprint Tautwerpen bym  
Whilken de figuerfaider.





of the original may be seen in 'A Collection of Fac-similes of Scarce and Curious Prints,' published in London in 1826, and the print is also described in the work of *Bartsch*, Vol. VII. p. 465, No. 16. Two impressions of the copy, the name on which is rather, I think, *Willem*, than as Heinecken has given it, are in the collection at the British Museum. Had Heinecken possessed but a very moderate share of antiquarian knowledge, he must have perceived that the slashed dresses, the bonnet and feathers, and the broad square-toed shoes of the soldiers, and the hat of the lady, bear no resemblance to the costume of the fifteenth century, but decidedly indicate the age of Maximilian and Charles V. But, that the reader may the better judge of the truth of these remarks, I have caused the wood-cut, itself, to be accurately copied in the plate opposite. Heinecken proceeds to make out his case as follows :

"It may also be to our purpose in this place," says he, "to mention an anecdote which is to be found in Carl van Mander, relative to Quintyn Matsys. He relates, that upon the occasion of an illness of this artist, when he was young, a wood-engraving of a saint was brought to him ; one of those which the clergy had just then distributed among the people during a procession ; and that this print was the cause of Quintin's afterwards applying himself to drawing. Some authors have thought to prove, from this circumstance, the antiquity of engraving in Holland. Let us see if they have well calculated ? Carl Van Mander does not inform us whether Quintin the blacksmith died young, or at an advanced age. What is said by others, is supposition only, without foundation. We know only from him, that Quintin began to draw after the piece in question, when he was twenty years old, and that he died in 1529. Let us suppose that he reached the age of eighty ; according to this, the fact of which we speak, could not have taken place previous to about 1470. But in Germany, the figures of saints were engraved, for distribution among the people, as early as 1428, as I shall hereafter shew ; and in 1470, wood-cuts of this kind had been inserted in our German books, printed under the title of 'The Legends of the Saints.' It is therefore nowise surprizing that such images should have been also sold at Antwerp."

I need only remark, upon this passage respecting Matsys, that the



use of wood-engraving at Antwerp, in 1470, is very far from being a proof that the art had not been practised there long before.

“ But who,” continues Heinecken, “ was the first engraver with the burin in these countries ? Israel van Mecheln or Meckenen, who resided and worked at Bockholt, a town close to the frontiers of Holland ; whence it is to be presumed that in Holland also, and the Low Countries, there were at this time copper-plate engravers,” &c.

True ; but Heinecken says nothing, in this place, about Israel van Meckenen having, of course, learned his art from some one who had practised it before him, as he had observed of Martin Schoen, or Schoengauer : and, although he thus mentions him here, we find him afterwards, as has been said, placed in the ancient German school, with the other early artists of Flanders and Holland.

After having spoken at some length upon playing cards, but without, as far as I can see, producing any proof whatever that they were printed from engraved blocks in Germany, earlier than in some other parts of Europe, (which is what he would assume), Heinecken (p. 245) mentions the decree of the government of Venice in the year 1441, which I shall hereafter produce, made by it for the protection of “ the manufacturers of playing cards and printed figures ” of Venice ; and prohibiting the importation of cards and printed figures from foreign parts.

“ The foreign card-makers, whose importations are here guarded against, were,” he says, “ without doubt those of Germany ;” and then he tells us, in a note, that he had found in the public library at Ulm, an ancient Chronicle of that City, in manuscript, in which is this passage : “ Playing cards were exported from hence in bales, as well to Italy, as to Sicily, and other parts, by sea, in exchange for groceries and other merchandize ; from which may be seen how great was the number of card makers and painters who lived here.” But Heinecken has not told us the date of this manuscript, which I suspect to be not very early, nor the names of the *sea-ports* from which these bales of playing cards were shipped ; and, besides, the reader will remember,

that in a former page he has assured us, that, in the early times he is speaking of, "all objects of merchandise came to the Italians, (excepting only the inhabitants of Venice) from Antwerp; so that they had more connection with the Low Countries than with the provinces of Germany:" this I believe to be a fact generally admitted, and it certainly appears somewhat at variance with the passage from the Ulm Chronicle.

"It was easy for the engravers of cards," says Heinecken (p. 249, et seq.), "to turn their hands to the engraving of Images of Saints; and it was natural for them to do so; as the devotion towards such images had risen to the highest pitch, in Germany, in the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, and as the clergy distributed them on all occasions." True: and the Catholic religion was the same in those times in Italy, the Low Countries, and other parts of Europe, as it was in Germany; and the clergy of those parts, if they possessed these printed figures, would, therefore, distribute them to their congregations, as did the clergy of Germany; and that they had them in those times, is I think, very probable, for the following reasons.

The decree of the government of Venice, of 1441, speaks of the manufactory of cards and printed figures in that city, as then very ancient. The Venetians, therefore, must certainly have had them at the time Heinecken refers to; and as they had great commercial dealings with Italy generally, as well as with most maritime countries of Europe, (to say nothing of their traffic by land with the interior of Germany) it is scarcely to be believed that they would fail to export them as articles of merchandize, together with their other manufactures, to all places where there was a demand for them.

These wood-engravings of saints, and other devotional representations, were daubed over with a few gay colours, before they were sold or given away to the people, who, knowing nothing of the process by which they were manufactured, probably considered them as pictures or drawings. But the merchants, who received them from the manufacturer in large quantities; to whom, for example, an hundred images



of the Crucifixion had been transmitted, all *exactly* resembling each other in dimensions and in every lineament; and in like manner, fifty of St. Lawrence, and fifty of some other saint; could not be long so deceived: the idea of manufacturing them at home, would soon suggest itself; and thus, as the process was easy, nay, I should say, must have been obvious, after once the nature of the production had been suspected, engraving in wood would in a short time be practised, with greater or less ability, in most parts of Europe.

“ We find in the library of Wolfenbittel,” continues Heinecken, (p. 249, et seq.) “ prints of this kind, which represent different stories of sacred history, and other subjects of devotion, with the text opposite the figures, the whole engraved on wood. These pieces are of the same size as our playing-cards, measuring three inches in height by two inches and four lines in width. There are to be seen also, in the same library, five prints, at the end of the book entitled, ‘ *Ars moriendi*,’ in which are engraved different figures of angels, devils, dying persons, saints, &c. in the manner of our playing-cards, and of the same size; each figure being marked with a letter of the alphabet.

“ But I find,” says he, “ that they also engraved images larger than playing-cards. I have discovered in the Chartreuse at Buxheim, near Memmingen, one of the most ancient convents of Germany, a wood engraving of St. Christopher carrying the infant Jesus across an arm of the sea; on the opposite side of the river, is the hermit with a lantern; and further off is seen a peasant with a sack on his back, who is climbing a hill. This piece is in folio, and is coloured in the manner of our playing-cards; we read at the bottom, *Cristoferi faciem, die quacumque tueris. Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris. Millesimo CCCC<sup>o</sup> XX<sup>o</sup> tercio*. At least we know from this print, with certainty, that images and letters were engraved in 1423. No trick can here be suspected: the piece is pasted within the cover of an old book of the fifteenth century. One of the monks of the convent wished probably to preserve it; and in those times no one inquired concerning the antiquity of engraving, or disputed about it.

“ In my last tour,” he adds, “ I visited a considerable number of convents in Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria and Austria; and I every where found, in their libraries, many of these sort of images engraved in wood, pasted either at the beginning or at the end of books of the fifteenth century. Indeed, I made the acquisition of some of them; and all this has confirmed me in the



belief, that the first performances of the engravers in wood, after playing-cards, were the images of saints ; and that these images, which were dispersed and lost among the laity, were in part preserved by the monks, who pasted them into the first printed volumes with which they furnished their libraries."

All this, I believe to be quite true. But, admitting it in the fullest extent, it proves only that wood-engraving was known in Germany as early as 1423. It does not prove that the art was not practised at that time in other parts of Europe. But I shall speak further on this point, and especially of the print of St. Christopher, in a future page.

"After having produced these images of saints," says our author, "it was very easy to engrave historical pieces and entire sets of wood-engravings, and to add to them an explication, engraved in the same manner in wood, whether for the instruction of youth, or to excite the people to devotion. And here we have the origin of our first books, printed from engraved blocks of wood, of which we shall speak presently ; and which certainly gave rise to the invention of Typography.

"As I have read the sentiments of so many writers on the subject," he continues, "and have examined, with the help of the best judges, all the earliest printed books that I have been able to find, I may be permitted to express also my opinion concerning the origin of this art. I have proved in a work in German, that the people of Holland produce, without any foundation, their Lawrence Coster, as the first inventor of typography ; and I purpose to publish the same dissertation in French, and to add to it the discoveries that I have since made. But here I shall express myself in a few words . . . . According to my opinion, the card-makers, and the engravers of moulds who worked for them, were the first persons who gave us the figures of saints ; next came historical subjects, with short explanatory sentences intermixed with the figures ; and, lastly, devotional pieces, with accompanying text ; the whole engraved upon blocks of wood.

"Gutenberg, a man full of projects, who met with these works, and knew of the workmen who had produced them, conceived the idea, that if the letters were divided, or if each letter were to be cut separately, it would then be easy to print any thing that was desired. He, therefore, applied himself seriously to the subject, and pursued his enterprize with such ardour, that he spent all he was worth at Strasburg, as well as the property of his associates,

without however being able to succeed in printing a single sheet with these wooden letters that was neat and legible." . . .

Here, as usual, Heinecken would have his fancies and conjectures pass for facts. There is no evidence that Gutenberg was ever rich, or that he seriously injured himself by his speculations at Strasburg; though there is of his having received sums of money from his partners, in the shape of premiums; no proof whatever of his having printed a single page, well or ill, during the long residence which he is said to have made in that city.

"I am convinced," he continues, "that Gutenberg caused a very large quantity of these wooden letters to be made: we have too many witnesses who saw them, to doubt it: [some one of these witnesses, at least, Heinecken ought to have named] "but I am also convinced, that it was not possible to cut by hand the necessary quantity, of such equality and justness of dimensions as was required, before entire sheets could be printed with them, and still less large volumes, as some [meaning Schöpflin] have pretended. Indeed, the perforation, which he was obliged to make in each letter, sufficiently shows the difficulty he experienced in joining the pieces together in a solid manner. Besides, these holes made through the letters were subject to objections. The stringing the letters of a line upon a thread, with a knot at the end; or the passing of a thread from right to left through all the lines, could never have been sufficient to enable the work to bear the force of the press." . . .

It is surely improbable, that Gutenberg would prepare '*a very large quantity*' of these wooden types, before he had found that he could print with them. With respect to the method of stringing the letters on threads, it is evident that it would be of use, in preventing individual characters from starting out of their places. We know, from various old writers, that such a mode anciently prevailed: but no one, I believe, supposes, that it was ever used without the additional help of pressure on the four sides of the pages; in short, without the surrounding frame, of which Heinecken next speaks.

"It appears to me," he continues, "that Gutenberg at length abandoned this mode of stringing his characters, and that he kept them together with a frame and screws. It is well seen, by the testimony which certain persons



were obliged to give in the law suit which he instituted against Fust, (!) that he and his associates had a press, and that they employed screws and forms, or frames, to contain the letters. When Fournier pretended that there is nothing in these depositions which refers to moveable characters, and that they relate only to printing from engraved blocks, he did not pay sufficient attention to the words of the process : ‘ Take the pieces out of the press and separate them, and then no one will know what it is :’ Again, ‘ Go immediately to the presses, and open that which has two screws, when the pieces will separate ; and put them inside and upon the press, and then no body will be able to see or understand what it is.’ One cannot say of tablets of wood, upon which fixed letters have been engraved, that they will separate upon screws being opened, and still less that when the pieces are separated, no one will know what it is. The tablets, or moulds, for making playing-cards with figures and letters, were assuredly well known in these times ; but moveable characters were not ; and when they were separated, it would certainly require a good deal of reflection to find out what could be the use of these little pieces of wood, at the end of each of which was engraved a letter, so small as not to be easily distinguished.”

Heinecken is here guilty of an unaccountable blunder ; these depositions not being taken from any process between Gutenberg and Fust ; but from Schöpflin’s Latin translation of the Strasburg Process of 1439, which is already before the reader. With respect to his concluding remark, I may observe, that it is not probable the first attempts at printing with moveable characters were made with letters of a small size : besides, the first printers often cut two, and even three letters, on the same shaft of wood or metal ; so that a person seeing them could not fail immediately to understand their purport.

“ Nevertheless, the quantity of lead of which the witnesses speak, and which Gutenberg had purchased and employed, may lead one to suspect that he attempted to manufacture cast type at Strasburg ; though it may be doubtful if he did not require this lead for the looking-glasses, of which he had also undertaken the manufacture. If he really did cast his letters of lead, without knowing the method of cutting the punches and of striking the matrices ; or if he carved them with a knife, one at the end of each piece, and employed only



lead (a matter less capable of resisting the force of the press than wood), he could never succeed in printing a book according to his wishes.

“ Being at length obliged to quit Strasburg, and to return to Mentz, his native place, he associated himself with an intelligent and enterprising man named Johan Faust or Fust ; who was either himself a goldsmith, or at least of a family who followed that business, and who continued, with him, to realize his ancient project of printing books, furnishing the money necessary to give it effect.

“ They began by a Donatus, or Vocabulary, or Catholicon : [see the testimony of Trithemius] for I am of opinion that different writers have given these different names to one and the same work ; which was, in fact, but a grammar. This book was printed with fixed characters, engraved on tablets of wood,” &c.

Heinecken then describes two of the engraved blocks, of a page each, used in printing this Donatus, which when he saw them belonged to a Mr. Morand and a Mr. Faucault, and afterwards came into the La Valliere Collection, in the Catalogue of which Library, impressions of them are given ; as also the block of a third page, which then belonged to Meerman, and is now in the collection of the Baron Westrenen at the Hague, who some time since favoured me with an impression of it.

“ Upon examining these characters,” he continues, “ we find them exactly of the same type or design as those of the Bible which I term the first, and of which I shall speak elsewhere : they are also similar to those of the Psalter of 1457, although not of the same size. . . . . If Gutenberg and Fust began by printing from engraved blocks, it was not that that kind of printing had not been practised long before them ; but it was to keep themselves employed, and with a desire to produce a better type,” (that is letters of a better form) “ than had heretofore appeared : In the mean time they went on preparing moveable type, capable of realizing the project they had in view, namely, the impression of a Bible.”

I have already repeatedly mentioned, that the Strasburg process has been insisted upon, by the writers on the side of Mentz, and even admitted by Meerman, as containing good evidence that Gutenberg endeavoured to print with moveable characters as early as 1436.

But here, after about fourteen years of fruitless attempts, he is represented to us as going back to the ancient method of block-printing!! Can such a history be true?

“After having lost a great deal of time,” continues Heinecken, “with their moveable characters of wood, and finding the impossibility of printing a book with them, Fust, aided perhaps by Pieter Schoeffer, at last found out the punches and the matrices for casting metal type. All authors are agreed, that the Bible, which probably appeared between 1450 and 1452, was the first fruit of this new invention.”

Heinecken then mentions the letters of indulgence printed, as he says, in 1454. He informs us that Gutenberg and Fust separated in 1455; after which he describes the Psalter, printed in 1457 by Fust and Schoeffer, and reprinted by them, with the same type, in 1459; and, again, by Schoeffer only, with the characters the worse for wear, in 1490.

Returning, once more, to engraving in wood, our author speaks, at p. 277, of a German book of ‘the Legends of Saints,’ without date, which he supposes to have been printed before 1470. It is printed, he says, in double columns, each legend being ornamented with a wood-cut of the saint in question. He favours us with a copy of one of them, from which it appears that they are wretched performances.

“But,” he continues, “who were these wood-engravers? We cannot, I repeat, name with certainty, any engraver in wood, before Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff. . . . .

“If that which Junius, Scriverius, Boxhorn, and other Dutch writers, relate of a certain Laurent Jansoen, or Laurent Coster, were well founded, we should know that this person engraved in wood about 1420.

“These authors do not hesitate to assert, that Coster laid the foundations of the art of printing at this time. . . . . Meerman has lately treated this subject in his ‘*Origines Typographicæ*,’ where he strives to prove that this Laurent Jansoen . . . . was the first Inventor of Printing. He attributes to him, also, the invention of Engraving on Wood; which he is the more readily led to do, as Schöpflin (in his ‘*Vind. Typogr.*’ p. 87) felt no difficulty in ascribing the execution of the vignettes of the ‘*Speculum Salvationis*’ to Coster, although he attributed the impression of the text to Gutenberg.



“ This,” he continues, “ is not the place to examine into these disputed matters ; nevertheless, I cannot refrain from here producing *a new and important argument*, which will prove, that the engraving of figures in wood, was neither invented by Coster, nor in the city of Haerlem ; and will consequently render very doubtful the whole narrative of Junius.”

I must here interrupt Heinecken, by observing, that Junius does not ascribe to Coster the invention of figure-engraving, on blocks of wood ; but only the discovery of moveable types ; and that, consequently, were he to prove beyond all doubt that wood-engraving was not invented by Coster, or in Haerlem, the testimony of Junius would, so far, remain unimpeached.

“ Junius,” he goes on to say, “ was born at Horn, in 1411, and established himself about 1560 at Haerlem, where he published his *Batavia*, in 1575. It is certain, that no one spoke of Laurent Jansoen Coster as a printer, before 1560, and still less as an engraver in wood.” [This appears to me to be asserting more than the writer could be sure of, unless he meant that before that time no one spoke of Coster’s pretensions, in print.] “ Although Theodore Volckart Coornherdt, Henri Spiegel, and Lodovico Guicciardini, speak of printing having been invented at Haerlem, it is nevertheless to be observed that they did not do so till 1561 and 1567, and that they were contemporaries of Junius. They *might* have learned this tale from Junius ; but after all, they did not name Coster ; and the words of Guicciardini sufficiently shew that he gave no credit to this story.”

What Heinecken here says of Junius is in part erroneous : for Junius quitted Haerlem in 1572, and afterwards resided elsewhere ; and though it appears, from the dedication, that his book was finished in 1575, it was not printed till 1588. The ideas of the writers whom he has here named, (and to the list of which he ought to have added Jan van Zuyren, who probably wrote his treatise, already noticed, before Junius’s arrival at Haerlem,) could not, therefore, have been taken from Junius’s written account. But it is insinuated, that before 1560, the people of Haerlem had never heard any thing of Coster, or of his supposed printing office ; and that Junius, upon fixing his domicile there, about that year, for the first time put it into their heads to advance pretensions to the invention

in question. If this be so, then were Van Zuyren, Coornherdt, Guicciardini and Junius himself (all of them, but for this accusation, men of character) guilty of the most wilful falsehoods. For they all say that the traditions they speak of, were common among the people of Haerlem, and had been handed down to them from father to son; and Coornherdt, especially, who published his short account in 1561, tells us expressly that he is quite satisfied of their truth, “convinced as he is by the faithful testimonies of men alike respectable from their age and authority, who had not only *often* told him of the family of the inventor, and of his name and surname, but had even described to him the rude manner of printing first used, and pointed out to him with their fingers the abode of the first printer.” Whether or not these traditional accounts were accurate, or had been originally founded in fact, are other questions; but it cannot reasonably be supposed that they had not been current in Haerlem long before the time of Junius.

“The vignettes of the ‘*Speculum Salvationis*,’” he continues, “which it is pretended were the work of Coster, regard, without doubt, the arts of design. We must search for the professors of those arts, in the books which treat expressly concerning them. The matter, in this instance, regards the town of Haerlem, and in particular one of her citizens, who, as the inventor of an art so celebrated, ought to be known and held in veneration. Nothing seems more natural than to have recourse to Carl van Mander, who has given us the lives of the painters and artists of Flanders and Holland.

“This designer, painter, engraver and author, was born in 1548, at Meulebeck, and established himself, about 1585, after his travels, at Haerlem. There, he composed his *History of the Artists*, continuing it to the year 1604; and there, he caused his work to be printed. It cannot be denied that this author made all possible researches respecting the arts of design, and more particularly concerning the Flemish and Dutch artists.

“Nevertheless, this Carl van Mander, a painter by profession, and a writer from taste, speaking of artists who have engraved, thus expresses himself: ‘As in former times, almost all the engravers were also painters, we find, here and there, the remains of what they produced in their art, in their prints; as in those of Sebald Beham, of Suavius, of Lucas von Cranach of Saxony, of Israel



van Mentz, and of Hipse Martin (or Martin Schongauer); their engravings giving testimony of the ability of these artists,' &c.

“ How comes it that this author, who wrote at Haerlem, at the most about twenty years after Junius, and who cites an indifferent engraver of Saxony—for Lucas Cranach, though a good colourist, was an indifferent designer and engraver, so that the cuts of the *Speculum* surpass his engravings in merit—how comes it, I say, that he does not say a word of the pretended engraver and printer, Lawrence Coster; nor of the vignettes of the ‘*Speculum Salvationis*’; nor of the other books of wood-engravings, which are now said to have been engraved and printed by this Coster? He, who has given us the life of Albert van Ouwater, of Geertgen tot S. Jeans, and of Dirk van Haerlem, with an account of their works; should he not have favoured us with a few words about Coster, who, if the chronology of his life, as given by Meerman, be just, lived at Haerlem at the same time?

“ Carl van Mander, was doubtless of opinion, that this fable of Junius did not merit any credence. That he thought thus of it, becomes so much the more probable, as he hesitates not to say, that the city of Haerlem, ‘*dares to pretend* to the glory of having invented printing,’ and yet makes no mention of Coster and of his supposed wood-engravings.”

Heinecken, in a note in this place, takes pains to shew that Van Mander disallowed the pretensions of Haerlem, and that the later editors of his work have unwarrantably altered the sense he intended to convey; but this *new and important argument* must fall to the ground; since it is beyond all doubt, (as has indeed been admitted by later writers on the side of Mentz) that he intended to say, that her claims were well founded; and we are left to place the remark of Heinecken to the account of that inveterate prejudice, which, when he thought the honour of Germany concerned, often caused him to see and to represent things in a false light, and, sometimes, in his eagerness to overthrow his enemies, made him forget his duty to his own party; as in the above case of Lucas Cranach, who, although his style be sufficiently gothic, was certainly an artist of ability, and merited to be treated with more respect than Heinecken has here shewn him. With regard to the silence of Carl Van Mander, as to the authors of the cuts of the *Speculum*, and of the other block-

books, it may suffice to answer, that none of these wood-engravings bear the initials of the artists who designed or engraved them, and that he may have been uncertain as to their names ; but that the plates of the artists he has mentioned, are invariably marked with their initials or monograms ; and that therefore he could speak of them with certainty. On the whole, Heinecken's argument, in proof that ' wood-engraving was neither invented by Coster, nor in the city of Haerlem,' seems imperfect ; though, as I have said, the fact might be admitted without any impeachment of the testimony of Junius.

" But," continues Heinecken, " let us return to Germany. The epoch of the impression of the Psalter of 1457, at Mentz, by Fust and Schoeffer, is incontestible. The initial letters of this precious work, sufficiently demonstrate that the art of engraving in wood had at this time attained great perfection."

No doubt, the little leaves and flowers, and even the greyhound running, which ornament the capital B, in this Psalter, and of which Heinecken has given a copy, are neatly and dextrously engraved ; and the clearness and precision with which this and the other initials are printed in red and blue, cannot be too much admired. But this kind of merit is quite distinct, and of a very inferior kind, from what we admire in the figures of the Speculum, and of one or two of the other block-books, which, whatever Heinecken may urge to the contrary, there is reason to believe were executed in the Low Countries ; for as for the wood-cuts of figures, which the German printers of the fifteenth century often introduced into their books, what I have seen of them are much ruder performances, and in a very inferior style.

" What then," he continues, " were the names of the wood-engravers who were employed, before the publication of this Psalter ? This is what we know not. We know not even those who engraved in the time of Gutenberg and Fust. . . . .

" The engravers and illuminators were the cause that the art of printing was divulged so rapidly, as it was ; and that so many presses were established, in almost all the cities of Europe ; because this sort of persons learned the art of typography more easily than other workmen. We also see that the



first printers made great use of wood-engraving, either inserting wood-cuts in their books, or ornamenting them with fancifully decorated initials.

“ But these engravers and illuminators did not at once abandon their old trade. They were in possession of engraved blocks of images; and so continued, for a very long time, to publish and sell their collections of figures, accompanied by more or less text, printed from engraved wooden blocks. We have books of the years 1470, 1472, and 1475, printed in this manner. So that we cannot argue generally of these block-books, and say, that they were all printed before the invention of typography.

“ The total ignorance in which we are left concerning the first engravers in wood,” [the reader will pardon my thus repeating this passage in the place where it appears in Heinecken] “ is a great argument for Germany. If this art had been invented in any other country, their ancient writers would not have failed to mention it. [What an argument is this !]

“ Although it be indifferent, as respects the art itself, to know who was the first engraver, it will not be indifferent to the curious to be informed, at least, in what country they must seek for the commencements of engraving; and I am convinced, that those who seek for them out of Germany, will lose their labour.

“ We find in an edition of the *Cosmography* of Sebastian Munster, that Johan Medimbach was in partnership with Fust and Schoeffer. Serrarius (*Lib. I., c. 38, ‘Rerum Mogunt.’*) says the same thing; and he is, without doubt, the same person who, in 1444, went with Gutenberg, from Strasburg to Mentz. It is probable, that this Medimbach or Meydenbach was an engraver in wood, or an illuminator, though it is not certain. . . .

“ I might name Junghanns of Nuremberg, who styles himself, at the commencement of his edition of the ‘*Entkristen*,’ (or *Book of Anti-Christ*), in 1472, ‘*Priefmaler*,’ or painter of playing-cards. I might cite Hans Sporer, who styles himself in the same manner, at the end of the ‘*Ars Moriendi*,’ printed by him in 1473. But I know not if they were, at the same time, illuminators and engravers in wood, or only printers. I find, also, the name of Jorg Schapff of Augsburg, on the *Book of Necromancy*, by Doctor Hartleib; but the historians of Augsburg know nothing concerning him, except his name.

“ I have seen, at the Electoral Library of Munich, a book which formerly belonged to H. Schedel, wherein he had pasted, according to his custom, an ancient engraving in wood, marked with the name Wolfgang, and the arms of

Nuremberg. Possibly, this Wolfgang was a very early engraver; but perhaps, he was only contemporary with Pleydenwurff.

“Johan de Paderborn, of Westphalia, sometimes added his portrait in small, engraved in wood, at the end of the books which issued from his press, and are dated 1475. It is possible, that he was an engraver in wood. But these are but conjectures.

“I know, also, an engraver in wood, who was called Johan Schnitzer, of Arnsheim, and who engraved the geographical charts for the edition of Ptolemy, which was printed at Ulm, in 1482. I also know another named Sebald Gallendorfer, an engraver in wood at Nuremberg, who was employed by Sebald Schreyer, in 1494, to engrave the cuts for the book of Peter Danhauer, entitled, ‘*Archetypus triumphantis Romae*.’ But these artists are all contemporaries of Pleydenwurff. If then we would name with certainty one of the first engravers in wood, we must name Willhelm Pleydenwurff, or Michel Wolgemuth; not that others did not engrave in wood, before them; on the contrary, there were a great number, but we are ignorant of their names.”

How far all this goes to prove that all, or even most of the early block-books were executed in Germany, I leave to the attentive reader to determine. After a passage upon engravings in clair-obscur, a subject foreign to our present inquiry, he proceeds :

“All that we have been saying, may serve as a short introduction to our Catalogue of German artists; at the head of which we shall place those works that are entirely engraved in wood.

“As it is impossible to determine the dates of these productions; and as all that the Dutch writers have said, has no foundation; and rests entirely on the supposition that Lawrence Coster engraved and printed these works, beginning, according to their ideas, from the year 1428, we have ranged these books at hazard, without guaranteeing their true order.

Upon the above passage, which finishes the introduction to his Catalogue of the Block-books, Heinecken has the following note :

“The book known under the title of ‘*Ars Moriendi*,’ is marked by the Hollanders, in the copy which is preserved at the Hotel de Ville at Haerlem, with the year 1428. But Seizius, in his treatise, ‘*Derde Jubeljaar*,’ &c. has given a very different chronology. He places the ‘*Ars Moriendi*,’ in 1431; the ‘*Biblia Pauperum*,’ in 1435; the ‘*Apocalypse*,’ in 1434; the ‘*Donatus*,’



in 1435 ; and the first Flemish edition of the ‘ *Speculum Salvationis*,’ [for Heinecken will not call it Dutch] printed, according to him, with moveable characters of wood, in 1439. He dates the second edition in 1443, and the Latin in 1444.

“ In order to well understand all this, the reader must be informed, that until 1560, the people of Haerlem, were ignorant that their Coster, named Laurent Jansoen, had been a printer ; and still less did they know, that he had invented the arts of printing and of engraving in wood. [We must pardon Heinecken’s so often repeating this assertion.] Adrian Junius, a physician and historian, living at Haerlem, was induced to print in 1575, that is more than 130 years afterwards, in honour of the city, that Cornelius a bookbinder, aged about ninety years, had told this story of Laurent Jansoen, to his preceptor Galius, and to the Burgomaster Talesius, two worthy old gentlemen who had related it to him, Junius, when he was very young. Nevertheless, the town did not possess any production of this famous press of its citizen. Cornelius had spoken only of a certain work, entitled ‘ *Speculum Salvationis*.’ By good luck, there also existed other books, without date or name of the printer, which no party had any particular grounds to lay claim to. The first claimant in such cases, has an advantage ; and the Dutch writers, therefore, after Junius, did not neglect to ascribe all these works to Coster, and to the city of Haerlem. But, unfortunately, 230 years had elapsed since the first book, according to their calculation, had issued from the press of Coster ; and the city was still without a copy of any of these books ; when, in 1654 (or according to some accounts, in 1660), the occasion offered of purchasing them at a sale at the Hague. Some curious person had collected these books, the greater part of which were defective ; and what was worse, it was not certain if they were the first editions ; though at that time no others were known. The magistrate purchased them, with the chest in which they were found, which, as well as the books themselves, was attributed to Coster ; and they are at present preserved at the Hotel de Ville at Haerlem, together with a few others which have been since added.”

The first, or rather the middle part of this note, embraces the general subject of our inquiry. With respect to the old chest full of block-books, which was sold at the Hague in 1654 or 1660, (and if I mistake not there is reason to believe that the collection had been made in Holland long previously) it will suffice at present for me to

remark, that the circumstance of so many of these block-books having been found, at so early a period, where they were, is favourable to the supposition that they were the productions of the Low Countries, and not executed in Germany, as Heinecken would lead his readers to believe : indeed, most of them were described by Scriverius, in his book published at Haerlem in 1628, as then existing in Holland ; nor could Heinecken be ignorant of this fact, though he omits to mention it.

(I.)

‘ BIBLIA PAUPERUM.’

THE *first* Block-book described by Heinecken, in his Catalogue, is the BIBLIA PAUPERUM, of which he particularizes five editions with the inscriptions in Latin. After speaking of that which he guesses to be the first edition, he says that, “ when one examines the drawing of these figures with the eyes of a connoisseur, one perceives, throughout, the heavy and gothic taste of the first designers and painters of Germany, from which school came Martin Schoen.” But it has been already shewn that Heinecken’s connoisseurship is not much to be depended on. The style of these cuts has considerable resemblance to that of the two Van Eycks ; and on the whole there is better reason to ascribe the work to the Low Countries than to Germany.

The four first editions appear to be exact copies from each other ; but the figures in the fifth edition are quite different, and in a far more barbarous and gothic taste ; though, from what Heinecken says, they are more neatly engraved than the others. This edition has ten additional cuts, being composed of fifty pieces instead of forty : the only copy Heinecken had met with, was in the library of Wolfenbittel, and I have little doubt that it was published in Germany. Heinecken also describes, and gives a specimen of, an edition with the text in German ; which, like the first four editions, consists of forty leaves, the last of which is dated 1470 ; and he also mentions two other German editions, one of them dated 1471.



## (II.)

‘ HISTORIA SANCTI JOHANNIS EVANGELISTÆ, EJUSQUE VISIONES  
APOCALYPTICÆ.’

This is a much ruder performance than the ‘Biblia [Pauperum;’ and I suspect from the costume of the armed figures, which have always the bascinet and the camail, that the first edition of it, whichever it may be, is something older than any edition of that work. I should say also, that it proceeded originally from a different school, though whether Belgic or German, I pretend not to determine. Some of the figures have well-cast draperies, but their proportions are too short. Heinecken describes six different editions.

“Uffenbach,” he says, (p. 370) “presented to the library of Franckfort on the Maine, ten pieces of the fifth edition. . . . And he added an inscription, in which he attributes the engraving of them to Laurent Coster, considering them as the monuments of his invention of printing. I am astonished that Uffenbach, who more than once examined the copy at Haerlem, did not perceive, that these pieces are of quite a different edition. But the world has been, for sometime past, so stultified by the Dutch writers, as to receive, upon their word, all these books for works of Coster; without reflecting that he must have been a painter and an engraver in wood, to execute these images. Neither do they perceive that the different characters of these works, both as respects the style of design and the engraving, make it unreasonable to attribute them to one and the same artist. They are guided merely by the shape of the letters, a matter here of no consequence, and which in these works are of a gothic form, similar to what we see on old monuments in all our ancient churches. No one, on account of such resemblance, would maintain that all these monuments were executed by the same sculptor.

“Meerman, who is a man of talent, in speaking of this present work of the Apocalypse, is obliged to confess, that, in point of style of design, it differs from the others. He observes, for this reason, that a more gothic artist than the one who did the vignettes of the Speculum, must have been its author. But the letters, he says, are conformable to those of the ‘Speculum Salvationis;’ and therefore, he does not hesitate to ascribe this work of the Apocalypse, also to Coster.” These remarks of Heinecken, I think very reasonable.

## (III.)

‘ HISTORIA SEU PROVIDENTIA VIRGINIS MARIÆ, EX CANTICO CANTICORUM; or the Book of Canticles.

This work, which is one of great excellence, Heinecken styles ‘ the most gothic of all the block-books.’ He mentions two editions. One of them, of which an incomplete copy is preserved at the Hotel de Ville at Haerlem, has a Dutch, or, as Heinecken would term it, a Flemish inscription of one line, over the first cut. He would fain prove that this edition was copied from the other : but, after having seen, and carefully examined both, I am satisfied that the reverse is the case.

Speaking of the edition with the above Dutch inscription, he says :

“ According to my opinion, this copy was made by some engraver in Holland, or rather in the Low Countries, after the original which had been executed in Germany. I do not,” he adds, “ say this, to do honour to my countrymen, as the work is so rude that no credit can result to the artist who produced it. But it is *certain*, that almost all the books printed in Germany, and ornamented with wood-engravings, were copied in the Low Countries.”

Of the truth of the last assertion, Heinecken has forgotten to give us the proofs : as for his blindness to the merits of these designs, we must place it to the account of his incompetence to judge of works of art.

## (IV.)

‘ HISTORIA BEATÆ MARIÆ VIRGINIS, EX EVANGELISTIS ET PATRIBUS EXCERPTA, ET PER FIGURAS DEMONSTRATA.’

I know nothing of this work, except from Heinecken’s account of it, and from a fac-simile of four of the cuts, which appear to be very rude performances ; though they are probably not very ancient.

## (V.)

‘ DER ENTKRIST,’ or, ‘ *the Book of Antichrist*,’ consists of thirty-nine cuts, very rude performances, with text, also printed from



engraved blocks, in the German language. Heinecken mentions two or three editions; one of them with this inscription at the end: ‘*Der junghannss priffmaler hat das puch zu nurenberg, 1472.*’

(VI.)

‘*ARS MEMORANDI*,’ is an extremely rude performance, and as a work of art has no pretensions whatever: there appears every reason to believe that the Briefmalers, or card-makers, of central Germany have an exclusive right to it.

(VII.)

‘*ARS MORIENDI*,’ or ‘*De tentationibus morientium*,’ called also, ‘*Tentationes Daemonis.*’

There appear to exist numerous editions of this work, some of them printed at considerably distant periods, and, it is probable, in distant parts of Germany, and the Low Countries. It might not be easy to determine with accuracy, either which is the most ancient, or in what country the book was first published; though, for a reason which I shall hereafter produce, I incline to think that it first appeared in Holland, or Flanders.

The cuts, though in some of the editions they are neatly engraved, are of a rude character, as respects the composition and design; explanatory figures, intended to shew the workings of the dying man’s mind, and the different temptations which beset him, being sometimes introduced, in the foreground, of much smaller dimensions than the figures of the principal group, represented above; which gives the whole a strange appearance. One of the editions bears at the end, the name of ‘*Hans Sporer, pruff-moler*,’ with the date 1473.

(VIII.)

The *eighth*, is a small book in 4to., containing subjects of sacred writ, which Heinecken found at Nuremberg, and consists of *thirty-two cuts*, under each of which are fifteen verses in the German language. He has given us a copy of one of the pages; enough to assure us that

the original cuts are wretched performances, though probably not very ancient.

(IX.)

‘SPECULUM HUMANAÆ SALVATIONIS.’

Heinecken in describing this work, of course avails himself of the opportunity it affords him, of once more expressing his opinion concerning Laurence Coster, and the pretensions of Haerlem.

He observes, that “the cuts are executed on a hard, close-grained wood, such as was necessary to enable the artist to engrave with spirit, and at the same time delicacy.” He says, that “he cannot sufficiently admire the art of the engraver; that the most able artist of our own days could not do better, nor cut the wood with more precision or neatness. He cannot say so much for the designer; who, though more skilful than those who made the drawings for the preceding works, is still always gothic.” In respect of design, he finds these cuts a good deal conformable “to those of the ‘*Biblia Pauperum*,’ but evincing an artist of more taste.”

“The vignettes contain each two subjects, with their titles in Latin, engraved on the same blocks. They are printed,” he tells us, “in a pale greyish tint in distemper; and by looking at the back of the paper, it is seen that the operation was performed by a card-maker, who laid the paper on the engraved block, and then rubbed it; in the mode still used in the manufacture of playing-cards. It is not less evident, that the blocks on which the vignettes were engraved, were distinct from those containing the text; which is introduced underneath, in prose Latin with rythmical terminations, and in two columns; with references, at bottom, to the Books and Chapters of Sacred Writ, from which the explanations are taken. Each, therefore, of these blocks, whether vignettes or text, was engraved and printed separately. This is proved by the unequal distances of the cuts from the text, and the vignettes being sometimes placed, more or less awry, over it.

“I have carefully examined,” he continues, “the three copies of this *first Latin edition* at Paris, one of which is at the Bibliothèque du Roy, another at the Sorbonne, and the third in the collection of Mr. Girardot de Prefond.

“I have myself, compared this edition with the *second* (Latin edition), of which a complete copy is at the ‘*Célestins*.’ I have also caused the first and



the last vignette to be traced with the greatest exactness by Mr. de St. Aubin, and have transmitted the tracings to Holland; where Mr. Enschedé, and Mr. Yver, have been so good as to compare them with all the copies of the book that are at Haerlem: and, in consequence, I can now say, with certainty, that the vignettes are identically the same, in all the editions of this work, whether Latin or Flemish."

All this is very accurate; but I cannot say the same of the following observation:

"I have also observed, that the outlines and other markings of the figures, in the impressions of the second Latin edition, and in the Flemish editions, are thicker, and not so sharp as they are in the first edition; because when they were printed, the blocks had already served some time."

What can we say of a writer like this; who, to prop up his system, and after having compared, as he says, the two Latin editions together, thus states, as a fact of his own observation, that which is the reverse of the truth? I would not, however, accuse Heinecken of wilful misrepresentation in this place; as I believe him to have been blinded by his prejudices. But I shall hereafter demonstrate, that two of the editions, which he places after his supposed first edition, were printed before it; that what he styles the first edition, is in reality the third; and that, in point of fact, the cuts had suffered, not very considerably, from previous usage, when that edition was printed.

"I term that *the first edition*," he continues, "in which we find twenty pages of the text of a different impression from the rest. We have but to examine these twenty pages, to be convinced that they were entirely engraved on blocks of wood, and printed by a card-maker, in the same manner as the vignettes; although these latter were engraved upon different blocks: the back of the paper clearly shews this, in the indentation made by the letters, which is as strongly marked as that caused by the vignettes."

"On the contrary, the preface, and the text of all the other leaves, to the number of 43, are printed with a press and black printing ink; although the vignettes on the same leaves are printed by a separate process, with a rubber. Of this, also, the back of the paper bears testimony; where we clearly perceive the effect of the friction at the back of the vignettes, but not of the text."

Heinecken then observes, very truly I think, that the last mentioned forty-three pages of text appear to have been printed with cast metal type : after which he informs us, that a French writer had imagined that there once existed an edition, in which the whole of the text was printed from engraved blocks.

“ This number of leaves printed by the press,” he continues, “ and this manner of placing a vignette over the text, lead me to conjecture, that the ‘ *Speculum Salvationis* ’ is less ancient than the books before described, and that it was published just at the time of the invention of typography. I imagine that the engraver who engraved the twenty pages of text on wooden blocks, was one of those whom Gutenberg and Fust employed (for they certainly had engravers in their service) ; and I am of opinion, that this engraver, having himself become a printer, finished the rest of the work with the cast type then newly invented ; especially as the characters are entirely similar in their form and design, to those in the blocks of the *Donatus*, [he means those formerly in the La Valliere collection] and resemble, generally, the characters of the printing-office of Fust and Schoeffer. Perhaps, hereafter, other books may be found printed with the same type.”

Heinecken has not in this place given us the date, at which he meant to place the invention of printing. But, from what he has said before, we may fairly take him to mean, soon after 1450, and certainly between that year and 1460. Now, if after Heinecken had thus written, it had been proved to him, beyond doubt, that two editions of the ‘ *Speculum* ’ had been printed, and with moveable types, before this edition which he had styled the *first* ; what would he have said ? Perhaps, considering the work to have been executed at Mentz, or by a disciple of the Mentz school, he would not have been disconcerted ; as it would only have required him to date the invention some half dozen years earlier. But what if, after this, he had been assured, that, in the opinion of all the best judges in Europe, those two ancient editions, as well as the two others, were printed with Dutch type ? Would he, in this case, have been led calmly to reconsider the opinions he had formed upon the controversy ? Or would he not rather have deemed it his first duty, to devise some





way of extricating the cause of Germany, from the dilemma in which he had unwittingly placed it? I shall leave this question unanswered; but, I must observe of the latter part of the above paragraph, that it seems strange, as he was so well acquainted with the work of Meerman, that instead of comparing the characters of the *Speculum* with those of the *Donatus*, supposed to have been printed from engraved blocks by Gutenberg and Fust, he did not mention the *three Donatuses*, of which that author had given engraved specimens, two of which are *printed with the same identical type as the Speculum*.

Heinecken has the following note upon the latter part of the above passage :

“ Meerman,” he says, “ finds, in almost all the early printed books, without date, the Flemish character. We, on the contrary, in looking at them, see only the gothic character, which was employed on the early paintings, sculptures, and monuments of Germany, France, and even the Low Countries : we call it the character of the monks ; because they and their clerks, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, wrote in that manner. Not only the books of Fust and Schoeffer, but also the first books printed, from the invention of typography, all over Europe, are printed with gothic characters ; and they differ no more from each other, than did the hand-writing of the manuscripts, which the first printers endeavoured to imitate ; which varied in the forms of the characters, as every hand-writing has its peculiarities.”

Now, this remark of Heinecken, though it may seem plausible, is far from being generally true. For though in their larger type, as in the *Psalter* of 1457, and in what is considered the first Bible, Fust and Schoeffer adopted the black-letter character, as we term it in England ; yet, in the formation of their smaller type, which we see in their other books, they discarded those superfluous fine strokes from the capitals which characterize that kind of letter, and also, in great measure got rid of those sharp angles at the tops and bottoms of the thick strokes of the minuscules, which also belong to it ; and thus they succeeded in at once producing a type, which, from the simplicity of the forms of the letters, was far more easy to cast, than the black-letter character, less liable to get clogged with the ink, in

printing, and more easy to read. I am aware that among the numerous books printed in the 15th century, in the central parts of Germany, many are to be found in the black-letter character, or something nearly approaching it, and that in the 16th century it was much used there : but except for Bibles and Missals, it was not so often used elsewhere. A large proportion of the first books printed in Italy, are in what we may term Roman type ; most of those of Ulric Zell, the first printer of Cologne, and those of the first printers of Flanders, are in a character midway between the black-letter and the Roman, like that of most of the first Mentz books. But in Holland, the genuine broad-faced black-letter character was constantly maintained ; which is, now, so well understood to be the particular characteristic of the earliest books printed in that country, that every experienced judge who examines the type of the *Speculum*, will at once declare it to be Dutch type.

“ Besides the copies of the *first* edition which I have already mentioned,” continues Heinecken, “ there is also one in the library of the Earl of Pembroke, in England. According to Maittaire, it is defective, having only fifty-six leaves, including the preface ; so that it wants seven of the leaves with vignettes. The celebrated Richard Mead had also a copy, of which S. Palmer gives the description.

“ It is remarkable, that the city of Haerlem has no copy of the *first* edition : it makes its boast only of one of the *second* edition, and this is imperfect ; the whole preface being wanting. *Formerly, this was believed at Haerlem to be the first edition*, and it is only some time ago that that opinion has been changed.” [This last piece of information is very curious, since this edition, as will hereafter be proved, is really the first.] “ The vignettes are rudely coloured, and the inscription which has been placed at the beginning, ‘ *Ex officina Laurentii Joannis Costeri, Anno 1440,*’ is a recent addition.

“ There is also a copy of this *second* edition in the Royal Library at Hanover, which is also defective ; having only 44 leaves. But that which is at the ‘ *Célestins*,’ at Paris, is complete.

“ I have had occasion to examine this copy with attention ; and all those who assisted in the examination, were convinced that this edition is entirely printed with cast type ; indeed, with the very same type that was employed



for forty-three leaves of the first edition, and also that it was printed with a press. The vignettes were printed with the rubber of a card-maker: this is evident, from the impressed lines clearly appearing at the back of the paper; which has also a shining and greasy appearance, occasioned by the friction of the rubber. The differences in the text have been sufficiently pointed out by Fournier ('De l'Origine de l'Imprimerie, p. 161), who renews, in speaking of this edition, the prejudices about moveable letters of wood, with which he was imbued.

"Let us now speak of the Flemish editions: [for Heinecken does not like to style them Dutch, and he ought to be excused.] If we are willing to judge without prejudice, we must agree that *they* are posterior. The Flemish is but a prose translation of the Latin."

That the work was originally written in Latin, there is no doubt; and that, when the cuts were prepared, it was intended to print the text underneath them in the Latin language, is evident, from the Latin titles, of one line each, engraved under each subject, upon the same block as the cut itself. *But these observations shew only the probability, that one of the Latin editions was the first edition printed, and not that both of them preceded both the Dutch editions, as Heinecken would wish us to believe.*

"Almost all the Dutch writers," he continues, "have insisted that the Flemish editions" [or rather one of the two Flemish editions] "were printed with moveable characters of wood. It was necessary to insist upon it, if they would not entirely discredit the story of Coster, as told by Junius. This writer says very distinctly, that Lawrence Jansoen, after having carved letters of beachwood, printed sentences with them, and afterwards the 'Speculum Salvationis' in the Flemish language."

I have already admitted, that Junius has expressed himself carelessly in this part of his narrative, and have stated that Scriverius thought so. I must now observe, that if Heinecken had asked the opinion of any person used to the conducting of judicial investigations, whether or not a discrepancy in the testimony of a witness of unimpeached character, ought to cause that witness's testimony to be considered as altogether unworthy of belief, he would have been

answered in the negative; and I think it would have been fairer, if he had omitted the word, 'entirely,' in the above remark. Besides, Junius's narrative is chiefly made up of traditions; and it is in the very nature of this kind of testimony to have a mixture of truth and error. He continues:

"Meerman, upon this, founds his whole system, and is at infinite pains to demonstrate that the [this] Flemish edition is the *first*. Nevertheless Enschedé, an excellent founder of type, and a printer at Haerlem, discovered not long ago that this edition is printed with cast type; and, assuredly, this artist ought to know better than others. He cultivates literature, and possesses one of the most curious and rare collections relative to the arts of design, and, at the same time, to his professional avocations. I trust, that this extravagant notion of finding books, and sometimes even large volumes, printed with these moveable characters of wood, will by degrees cease, and that able printers may be found, who will shew the impossibility of it.

"It being then ascertained, that the Flemish edition is printed entirely with cast type, how can it be supposed to be the *first*? Is it probable that any printer whatever, after having printed an edition entirely with cast type, should afterwards have had recourse to an engraver in wood, in order to prepare a second edition? And if he was himself an engraver in wood, and the inventor of typography, how great must have been his folly, thus to abandon his invention in his *second* edition!"

Heinecken, whilst writing this last remark (which, for the rest, is a very good one), seems to have forgotten what he had before told us of the Donatus printed from engraved blocks of wood, about 1450, by Gutenberg and Fust; that is nearly fourteen years after the alleged discovery of moveable characters by Gutenberg at Strasburg.

"When Meerman," he continues, "insists that it was not Coster, but his heirs, who printed, after his death, this Latin edition, part with engraved blocks, and part with moveable characters of wood, he is carried away by his patriotism, and forgets that neither Cornelius, nor Junius, have said one word about the printing-office of the heirs of Coster."

Junius, it is true, does not state expressly that the heirs of Coster continued the printing business after his death; but it is to be inferred



that they did so, from his mention of the drinking cups made from old type, which, when he wrote, were still preserved in the house wherein the old man, and afterwards his descendants, had resided. For, if Coster's type was stolen, and carried to Mentz, which is one part of Junius' account, the drinking-cups at Haerlem could not have been made from it, but must have been made out of other type prepared afterwards. Heinecken's remark about Meerman's patriotism, is amusing enough.

“Add to this,” continues our author, “that it is not likely that an ancient printer would have printed a translation, rather than an original, when the original itself had not been printed. All the world will agree, at least, that the ancient manuscripts of this book are in Latin, and that the Flemish translation is more modern. The example which Meerman cites, of the Bible, first printed in Flemish, is against him. The Latin Bible had been already printed in Germany. It is therefore more than probable, nay, *almost certain*, that the ‘*Speculum Salvationis*’ in Latin, was in like manner first printed in Germany; and that it was afterwards translated and printed in the Low Countries.”

Heinecken, though he mentions the two ancient Dutch or Flemish editions, omits to inform us, that the one, which he styles the *second*, is printed, excepting two pages, with the self-same type as the two Latin editions. I cannot help suspecting that he purposely kept this fact out of sight, in order to avoid the difficult task of accounting for it. For if the first Latin edition was printed in Germany, the cuts and the type, (I might add the paper also, which, though not identically the same as that of the two Latin editions, appears to be of the same manufacture) must afterwards have been brought from Germany into the Low Countries, in order to print the Flemish translation; which seems very improbable.

“I was not able,” says he, “to examine sufficiently, either the copy at the Hotel de Ville at Haerlem, or that in the public library in that city, which the Hollanders produce as the *first* (Dutch) edition. Nevertheless, I observed in them, that, in many places, pieces had been broken out of the blocks of the vignettes in the course of using them, previously to the printing of this edition; [how strange that he should have perceived none of these fractures in

his supposed *first* Latin edition, when, at his leisure, he compared it with the other Latin edition at Paris!] “ besides, that the impression of the text is more rude and more blotted, than is the case in the edition which they call the *second*. This is regularly the effect produced, either when the type employed in printing has been injured by long previous usage, or when the man who works the press is ignorant of his business. All the books printed by poor printers, who were obliged to purchase the old worn-out type of their brethren, have this defect.

“ Meerman,” observes Heinecken, in a note, “ wishing to shew that this Flemish edition is the *first*, prefers attributing these marks to the faultiness of the ink, and the difficulties attendant on a first invention. But an unequal and blotted impression, is rather the work of an ignorant printer, than of a first inventor. [And yet he has elsewhere told us, that Gutenberg, though he practised with moveable types at Strasburg during many years, was unable to print a single legible page.] It is very probable, that this edition is the essay of one of those printers, who established themselves in the Low Countries, after the invention of typography at Mentz, and that he printed but a very small number of copies, because his type turned out so defective.

“ It is an error,” he goes on to observe, “ to suppose those impressions the most ancient, which are the most rude. This notion has caused a considerable number of bad editions to be attributed to the inventors of typography, which are, in fact, but the productions of ignorant assistants; who, quitting the workshops of the first printers, took upon themselves to be masters; and without having acquired a perfect knowledge of the art, set up their presses in other countries.”

“ However, as our business here is with the engraving of the vignettes, I will not stop to discuss this point further; but, like Meerman, will term that Flemish edition the *first*, of which a copy is preserved in the Hotel de Ville at Haerlem, and another in the public library of the Senate of that city. Both are defective, and the latter copy appeared to me in worse condition than the former.

“ A copy, of which Scriverius speaks, and which was formerly in the possession of the painter J. van Campen, was, according to Meerman, of this edition, and complete. It is also said, that there was in this copy a leaf” (query, sheet) “ with the text printed on both sides, but with a vignette only on one. This would be an evident proof that the vignettes were printed with a rubber, and the text with the press. It would also be a document to shew,



that, even in these times, the card-makers were the only printers of images. It is said that the Czar Peter the Great, purchased this copy, and that it went to St. Petersbourg."

I shall only observe on this passage, that a copy of the other Dutch edition is preserved in the public library at Lisle, containing two leaves with letter-press printed on both sides, but with the cuts only on one. I shall have occasion to notice it further hereafter.

Heinecken has introduced a note in this place, which appears to have been intended by him, as a measure of precaution ; lest, at some future time, the four ancient editions of the *Speculum* should be proved to have been printed in Holland, and the supposed antiquity of the cuts should be urged in proof of the antiquity of the book in which they appear. It is as follows :

" It would be wrong to conclude, that the vignettes and the text of this book, were engraved and printed at the same time, because the vignettes represent the same subjects as are described in the text. It is certain, that the Latin manuscript of this work existed, with vignettes painted in distemper, in various libraries of Germany, at least as early as the twelfth century : nothing, therefore, could have been more easy, than for a designer, or an engraver in wood, to copy these vignettes, after one of these manuscripts, (*d'inventer ces vignettes, d'après un tel MS.*) and to engrave them, long before any one thought of printing either the Latin text or the Flemish translation." [I shall remark on this observation hereafter.]

" The *second* Flemish edition," he continues, " differs chiefly from the *first*, in having two leaves, namely, those containing the vignettes 45 and 56, printed with smaller type than the rest of the work." [Heinecken makes no attempt to account for this curious circumstance.]

" There are several copies of this edition in various places. 1. In the public library at Horn. 2. In the collection of Mr. Enschedé, at Haerlem. 3. In that of Mr. Meerman. 4. In the possession of Dr. Limborch, also at the Hague. 5. In the collection of Mr. Rendorf, at Amsterdam. 6. Mr. Marcus had another, which is now in the public library at Geneva. 7. In the library of the Earl of Pembroke, in England ;" &c.

" I come at last," continues Heinecken, " to the new edition of the *Speculum*, which the printer, Johan Veldener, published in 1483, with his name,

in the Flemish language. The vignettes, which are placed at the head of each discourse, are the same as those which we see in the ancient editions. He cut the engraved blocks, which represented always two sacred or historical subjects, sawing through the middle of the central pillar which divided them, so as to make them into two pieces, in order to insert them in this new edition which is in small 4to.

“ May I be permitted upon this occasion to say a few words respecting the first printers of the Low Countries.

“ *It was probably Theodore Martens, that brought these vignettes with him from Germany, or from France.* We know that this printer learnt his art in Germany, and that he worked in France.

“ *We may also conjecture, that Johan of Westphalia was the printer of the first Flemish editions, and that Veldener received the blocks from him.* These persons are known, at least, from the commencement of the art. We know, with certainty, that they really printed ; and it is probable, that the first typographers who came from the school of Mentz, did not put their names to their works, until after they had cast a type of their own proper design and invention. All these suppositions are certainly more reasonable, than it is to attribute the ‘ Speculum ’ to a certain Lawrence Coster, of whom no one ever heard mention, till Adrian Junius, brought him upon the stage about 1560, and of whom no person has seen any printed book with his name.

“ Meerman, from the circumstance of Veldener’s having become the possessor of the engraved blocks of the vignettes, and of his having cut them in two, would argue, that they were engraved in Holland, and by Coster. But I would here remark, that Veldener, after having learned typography at Cologne, went to live at Louvain, where he printed in 1474, among other books, the ‘ Fasciculus Temporum,’ in Latin, with figures engraved in wood. This same printer afterwards went to Utrecht, where, in 1480, he published the same work in Flemish, introducing also the same cuts, which he had brought with him from Louvain. Would any one infer from this, that the cuts of the Flemish ‘ Fasciculus ’ had been engraved at Utrecht or at Haerlem, by Coster ?

“ It is known, by all the productions of Veldener’s press, that he was a great lover of wood-engravings. If he did not engrave himself, he certainly had engravers in his service.

“ The Rev. Father Mercier, Abbé de St. Leger de Soisson, and Librarian of St. Génévieve, at Paris, has communicated to me an extract from a book



printed by Veldener at Louvain, in 1476, which contains formulary epistles, and of which the first leaf is wanting. At the end of this volume the printer says, ‘ that his name is Johan Veldener, that he understands the art of carving, engraving, turning, and of casting letters, and that he might add, that he also knew how to make images, and the use of colours,’ &c. If what this artist says of himself be true, it becomes very probable, that he had made a provision in Germany, of all things that were necessary to his business. *Nothing seems more natural, than that he (Veldener) should have brought with him from Cologne, the ancient moulds or matrices, from which the rude type of the two first Flemish editions of the Speculum, already spoken of, was cast ;* nothing more reasonable, than that he should afterwards abandon that type at Louvain or at Utrecht, or rather at Culenborch, after having made better ; for he was certainly a man of enterprize and genius.

“ My conjecture,” he adds, in a note, “ becomes the stronger from this circumstance, viz. that in the same year in which Veldener printed the new edition of the ‘ Speculum Salvationis,’ (in 4to.) he also published another similar book, wherein we see vignettes of the same form, and quite in the same style of design and engraving as those of the Speculum ; so that we may assert with confidence, that they are the work of the same master. This book, which has no title, contains the History of the Holy Cross. The first cut represents in a vignette, Adam, who orders his son Seth to go and find an Angel, from whom he is to receive three grains of seed, which are afterwards to produce the wood whereof the cross is to be made. The verses placed underneath in explanation, begin: ‘ Seth lieue Sone wilt my wel verstaen’—‘ Seth, my dear Son, wilt thou well understand me,’ &c. There are sixty-four similar vignettes in this work, and the explanation of the last is conceived in these terms :

‘ Hier doen die coepluden openbaer  
Haer offrande ten cruce claer  
Ich bidde God den hemelschen Vaer,  
Dat hi ons vor den Duvel bewaer.’

That is, “ The merchants here publicly make their offering to the Holy Cross. I pray God the eternal father, that he will preserve us from the Devil.’

“ On the last leaf is printed as follows: ‘ Dit is gemaet in die goede stede van Culenborch. Int iaer ons heren m.cccc.lxxxiiij. op den sesten dach van maerten by mi ian Veldener.’ This is made in the good town of Culenborch, in the year of our lord 1483, the 6th day of March, by me Jan Veldener.’

“I have seen this book,” continues Heinecken, “at Wilmes, in the possession of Mr. Gockinga. . . . It was bound with Veldener’s new edition of the ‘*Speculum Salvationis*.’ I have also observed that this printer employed some of the cuts of the *Speculum* in other books.”

I have not seen this *History of the Holy Cross*, and for the present must be allowed to doubt the cuts, it contains, being in the same style as those of the *Speculum*.

“The fondness of Veldener for wood-engravings,” he proceeds to say, “manifests itself in the two new editions of the *Speculum*, which he published in 4to. in the same year. . . . One of these, of which a copy is preserved in the Hotel de Ville at Haerlem, contains one hundred and sixteen vignettes (being the fifty-eight original cuts, each divided into two) with the same preface, and the same discourse as the ancient Flemish editions. At the end, is this inscription: ‘*De Spiegel onser behoudenis: van Culenburch by my Johan Veldener, in’t iaer ons heren m.cccc. en de lxxxij. des Zaterdaghes post mathei apostoli.*’

“But the other edition, of which Mr. Enschedé possesses a copy, is inscribed at the end, ‘*Dit boeck is volmact in de goede stede van Culenburch by my Johan Veldener in’t iaer ons heren m.cccc.lxxxij. des Zaterdaghes post mathei apostoli,*’ (so that it was published on the same day as the other); and this edition is augmented by twelve additional vignettes (that is six pieces like the former, each cut in two), which represent twelve different historical subjects, such as we find in the ancient Latin MSS. and by three corresponding chapters of text, translated from the Latin into Flemish. These additional pieces are in the same style of design and execution as the others. There is no appearance of their having been the work of a different master: and this circumstance confirms me still more in my opinion, that the text of the ‘*Speculum Salvationis*,’ was printed just at the time of the invention of typography; and that the vignettes had been engraved long before, after the drawings in some Latin MS.; especially as the engraver executed twelve subjects, or six of the double vignettes, which the first printer did not employ, and which were afterwards found by Veldener. These twelve subjects,” he adds, “are inserted in the same place as they occupy in the ancient Latin MSS.,” &c.

Heinecken then, p. 464, proceeds to describe two or three German editions of this work, with rude cuts of a very different and inferior



style, the whole printed with a press on both sides the paper, one of them dated 1476, and another 1492: after which he speaks of the Ancient Manuscripts of the Speculum: his account of the Block-books, finishing with (the tenth) the 'Book of Necromancy,' by Doctor Hartlieb; the rudest of all rude performances; as may be seen in the copies which he has given of two of the cuts, and which bears the name of '*iorg Schapff of Augsburg*,' who probably printed it about or soon after 1470.

The reader is now in full possession of Heinecken's argument, and of the evidence produced by him, to shew that the arts of wood-engraving, copper-plate engraving, and typography, were all of them invented in Germany; and that the *first editions*, at least, of all the Block-books, were also published in that country. I have given his argument entire; and have been careful to omit none of his proofs. To me it appears that he has failed to establish either of these propositions; (though I admit, that the question as to the invention of typography stands on a very different footing from the two others) that the argumentative part of his work is a tissue of sophistry; and that the greater part of what he would call his proofs, are no other than fanciful conjectures, boldly enforced by gratuitous, and, as the reader will have observed, often-repeated affirmations. But, blended with these sophisms, he has given us very accurate descriptions of the different Block-books which came before him; and this part of his book, which is very valuable, has gained for him a degree of respect, to which, as a critic, he is not entitled.

I have abstained from interrupting him in the latter part of his argument. He suggests that *Theodore Martens may have brought the cuts of the Speculum into the Low Countries from Germany or from France*; that *Johan of Westphalia, may have been the printer of the first Flemish edition*, and that *Veldener, may have received the blocks from Johan of Westphalia*; and lastly, we are told that "*nothing seems more natural than that Veldener should have brought the moulds from which the type of the Flemish Speculum was cast, from Cologne*," &c. which seems ill to accord with his previous suggestion,

that the first Flemish edition was printed by Johan of Westphalia. In short, it is not easy to understand exactly what he here means; since each of these three suppositions is at variance with the two others.

The main object of Heinecken, however, in all the conjectures proposed by him, is clear enough: it was to remove, from the minds of his readers, every idea that there could be any truth whatever in the story of Lawrence Coster, or that Holland could anciently have had any printing, except what she got from Germany. With this view it is, that he so often insists that the tradition about printing at Haerlem, had its origin with Adrian Junius in 1560; that he entirely omits to mention the different notices concerning Cornelius the book-binder, which have been found in the records of Haerlem; that he says not a word of the Dutch 'Donatuses,' of which Meerman had given engraved specimens; and that he is silent as to the important testimony of Ulrich Zell, who asserts that Gutenberg took the idea of his invention from the *Donatuses* which had been before printed in Holland.



## CHAPTER VII.

### THE SYSTEM OF SANTANDER.

IN treating of this controversy in my former work,<sup>18</sup> I offered some remarks, in answer to the argument of Lambinet, a spirited French writer on the side of Mentz, whose work chanced to fall in my way. It has since been observed to me, that Santander ranks much higher as an authority in these matters ; and therefore, on the present occasion, I shall, in preference, venture upon an examination of what is said by him, upon this question, in the introduction to his ‘ *Dictionnaire Bibliographique choisi du Quinzieme Siècle*,’ printed at Brussels, in 1805, in 3 vol. 8vo.

After having enumerated various cities, which at different times have laid claim to the honour of the Invention of Printing, he proceeds :

“ But we will here speak only of the cities of Haerlem, Mentz and Strasbourg, which alone support their pretensions by any evidence of importance : and indeed we might, I think, leave aside the city of Haerlem, whose arguments, more dazzling than solid, are founded only on vague reports and traditions, which, in reality, merit no belief ; for it is certain, that the story of ancient printing in that city, notwithstanding the efforts of the celebrated and very learned Meerman in its support, is, at the present day, regarded by bibliographers as but a fable. In fact, the work of Meerman, notwithstanding the learned researches which it contains, is no other than a typographical system, almost entirely built upon suppositions and conjectures suggested by his patriotism ; an excusable prejudice, indeed, and from which the greatest men have not been exempt.”

Santander, in a note in this place, introduces the copy of a long letter written by Meerman, in 1757, to a Mr. Wagenaar, from which

<sup>18</sup> “ *An Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving*,” &c. London, 1816. 2 vol. 4to.

it clearly appear that his opinions on the subject were then very different from what they became afterwards ; and wherein, like Santander, he treats the story of Coster, as ‘ a romantic invention.’ True : but if Meerman afterwards saw reason to believe his first opinion erroneous, was he not right to change it ?

“ Those,” says Santander, “ who have read the ‘ Origines Typographicæ’ of Meerman, in which he defends with so much tenacity the pretensions of Haerlem, will, without doubt, be astonished at the contents of this letter. One is at first tempted to believe, that Meerman changed his opinion, in consequence of having discovered, in his subsequent researches, some pieces in the way of proof, some authentic document in favour of Haerlem. But, in examining his work with attention, one is surprized to find not a jot or a tittle : on the contrary, he proves, as we shall see in the suite, that the famous proto-typographer, the renowned Coster, never had existence.”

This is certainly treating Meerman with very little ceremony at the onset. Might he not have answered, that he had produced the fragments of Donatuses, before-mentioned, and have told Santander, that, notwithstanding what he here says, he had not examined his book with attention ?

“ For the rest,” continues Santander, “ the work of Meerman, and those of all the authors who wrote before him, in favour of the pretensions of Haerlem, contain only commentaries and conjectural interpretations of the famous romance, given in the work entitled, ‘ Batavia,’ by Adrian Junius ; an author who lived more than a century after the pretended discovery of printing, made in the city of Haerlem, by the said Lawrence Coster.

“ As this tale, *this fable of Junius*, who took up his abode in Haerlem about 1560, where, according to all appearances, he composed his ‘ Batavia,’ published after his death at Leyden, in 1588, *is the only piece, the sole testimony, the unique document, upon which the partizans of Haerlem found their Typographical System*, it is absolutely necessary that we should here notice it particularly,” &c.

And he then gives an abridgment of Junius’s account, which as it is already before the reader, it is unnecessary here to repeat ; and in which, by the by, he states that Junius directly accuses Fust of the robbery of Coster’s type, which is certainly not the case.



“ In order still further to strengthen his romantic narrative,” continues Santander, “ composed from the hearsay evidence of ‘ aged persons, and of old gentlemen worthy of belief,’ as he calls them, Junius adds, also, the testimonies of Quirinus Talesius, and of Nicholas Galius, which last had been his preceptor; who had told him, that in their youth they had more than once heard this story related by a certain bookbinder, eighty years of age, who was called Cornelius, and who passed himself off for having been the servant of Coster himself.”

It may be proper here to remind the reader, that although Cornelius, according to Junius, used to speak of the history of the invention, and of the gradual improvements made in it, as he had heard them described by *his master*, he does not appear to have expressly said that that master was Lawrence Coster.

“ Such is the substance of this famous fable ; the only authentic document upon which the Dutch writers found themselves, in their zealous attempts to support the chimerical pretensions of the city of Haerlem : it is evident that Junius thought only of embellishing his picturesque description of this town, in which he then resided, by an old-woman’s tale, unknown before his time, and of which the rumour had but very recently spread abroad.”

The reader may perhaps be surprized at being here told, that the Haerlem story rests solely upon the authority of Junius ; and at finding no mention of Van Zuyren, Coornhert, and Guicciardini, who wrote before him. But this is a fair specimen of the way in which some of the best writers on this side of the controversy, have been accustomed to treat the subject.

“ The story is so far from being of the time, that no author, no Dutch work of the fifteenth century, nor of the beginning of the sixteenth, makes the least mention of it ; not even the celebrated Erasmus, who, having been born at Rotterdam, in 1467, could not be ignorant of a fact so worthy of remark, and so honourable to his country.

“ We may here,” he adds in a note, “ make an important remark ; namely, that Quirinus Talesius, the person whom Junius mentions as one of the authorities for his story, was during several years the secretary of Erasmus : it is therefore not credible, that Erasmus could have been ignorant of a fact which his secretary related, with all its circumstances, to Adrian Junius : if Erasmus knew it, it is difficult to believe that he would have been silent respecting so

remarkable an occurrence; he, who had so many opportunities for speaking of the history of typography; who was on terms of friendship with Thierry Martens of Alost, the celebrated printer who first practised the art in the Low Countries, of whom he wrote the epitaph; and who was so much interested, if the fact had been true, in preserving this honour for his country: but, on the contrary, if ever he speaks of the invention of this art, what he says is always in favour of Mentz, and never of the pretensions of Haerlem, of which he makes no mention."

Upon what Santander here says of Quirinus Talesius, I think it but fair to remark, that Nicolas Galius was the person who originally related to Junius the story of the robbery, which he had long before, and more than once heard, with all its particulars, from the mouth of old Cornelius the book-binder; and that the manner in which Junius at last mentions Talesius, seems to me to mean no more than that the latter, upon being long afterwards questioned by him, had acknowledged that he remembered to have heard something of the kind, when a child, from the mouth of the same old man. It is very possible, that Talesius, at the time, may have thought little of the story, and that he never mentioned it to Erasmus.

"But the love of country," &c. he tells us, "has caused several Dutch writers to adopt this fabulous narrative of Junius; which they have commented upon, each according to his fancy; adding new conjectures and suppositions, sometimes ingenious and learned, in order to form a system of typographical history, which, without any proof whatever, they would have us receive as incontestible."

As for any fanciful conjectures or suppositions of later writers, in explanation of Junius's narrative, or any unauthorized additions since made to it, it is evident that the original writer cannot be made responsible for them: and, as it is no part of my design to defend the follies of those who have written, either on the one side, or on the other, I shall be silent respecting them. Among these last, however, we cannot class the remark of Scriverius, who justly observes,—

"that the text of the *Speculum* was not printed with moveable characters of wood, but with cast type; and who charges Junius with not having examined



the printing of this work with sufficient attention, or of having been misled by false accounts."

But, let us follow Santander in some of his remarks upon the work of Meerman : although, as I have said, the testimony of Junius cannot in any way be affected, either by the indiscretions or unfounded suppositions of his followers.

" Let us now," says he, " examine the facts produced in the above-mentioned work of Meerman, and see if his manner of interpreting, and his conjectures, are better founded : this illustrious author has taken so much pains, and has made such efforts to cause the narrative of Junius to pass for true, that what with hypotheses, inductions, and an infinite number of assertions, purely gratuitous, and without the least proof, he has formed, in favour of Haerlem, a typographical system which, before him, no one had thought of ; but which, though it be very ingenious, has not even the merit of probability. This is the way in which he interprets, or rather arranges, the story of Junius, according to his fancy.

" Meerman begins by telling us, that Junius, Scriverius, and all those who have followed these authors, have been strangely mistaken, in saying that Lawrence Coster, of whom we speak, or ' Koster,' a Flemish word which signifies Sacristan or Churchwarden, or Custos, was descended from the family of the Costers, so called from their having always filled the honourable post of churchwarden by hereditary right ; for that this surname of Coster is not found in any ancient document, nor in the public register of Haerlem. It therefore becomes very probable, that the said Lawrence Coster, is but an imaginary personage, who never existed except in the account of Junius, and of his copyists ; as, according to the avowal of Meerman, this surname is not to be found in any contemporaneous document : it is true, that Meerman says afterwards, that our proto-typographer never subscribed himself, except as simply Lawrence, the son of John : but who could have assured Meerman, that the individual, whom he says he found designated as ' Louwerijs Janssoen,' or ' Laurentius Joannis filius,' in a document of the year 1408, as concerned in a sedition, and afterwards, in the archives, as treasurer in 1426, 1430, and 1434, is the same person mentioned in the narrative of Junius, as filling the office of churchwarden ? Where is the proof ? Are we to receive as undeniable truths the suppositions of Meerman ? But this is not all : for by means of a string of similar hypotheses, in a chapter written expressly upon

the pretended genealogy of this Laurentius Johannis, Meerman makes his hero descend from the illustrious house of Brederode, and consequently from the ancient Counts of Holland," &c.

As I intend to leave the question, as to the identity of Laurent Janssoen and Coster, with his birth, parentage, &c. entirely to the care of his compatriots, I shall offer no remark upon the above passage.

"After this beginning," continues Santander, "which seems better fitted to refute than to prove the truth of his system, Meerman passes to the circumstances of Junius's narrative; where it is related, upon the authority of the aged Cornelius, that Lawrence Coster, in his walks in the wood near Haerlem, amused himself in forming letters of the bark of the beech-tree, with which he printed short sentences on paper, for the instruction of his grandchildren. Upon this passage, Meerman observes, that characters made of the bark of the tree could not serve for printing; and that we must read the wood of the tree, instead of the bark. Here, then, is an important variation substituted by Meerman: we must therefore conclude, either that old Cornelius did not see clearly, or that he misunderstood; I say that he did not see clearly, or that he misunderstood; because, in his account, he does not say whether by accident he chanced to meet his future master in the wood near Haerlem, employed in cutting letters out of the bark of the beech-tree, or whether his master afterwards used to amuse himself, during the long winter evenings, in relating these curious details to his domestics, snugly seated in the chimney-corner."

Santander considers 'ridicule as the test of truth.' I shall merely observe upon this passage, that the account of Coster's cutting letters out of the bark of the beech-tree, is introduced by Junius in the early part of his narrative; which was chiefly collected by him from aged persons, living when he wrote; and that it makes no part of the testimony of Cornelius the book-binder, which, as I have said, appears to have been added by him, in the way of supplement, afterwards.

"As nothing is impossible to the researches of Meerman, he discovers the first typographical essays of Coster; that is the little verses and sentences just-mentioned, printed with letters made of the bark, or the wood of the



beech-tree : these he finds, after three centuries, on a sheet of parchment, printed on both sides in gothic characters, which Enschedé, the printer, found attached to the cover of an old book of prayers, and which contains, in eight very small pages, the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer, &c. This little piece, similar to a hundred other little devotional works which were printed in different parts of the Low Countries towards the close of the fifteenth century, having neither a date, nor the name or place of residence of the printer, was just what was wanted by Meerman, to produce with confidence, as the first typographical essay of Coster ; and he afterwards, by the help of certain calculations, made in his own way, decides, 'ex cathedra,' that this pretended essay was executed about the year 1430 ; nay, little was wanting, to enable him to determine even the day and the hour in which it was finished. It is evident, that by having recourse to such means, it would be easy to fix the Origin of Printing at any epoch, and in any place one chose."

I have nothing to answer to these remarks of Santander, touching the *date* of the above small work ; but I think, from the forms of the characters, that it is likely to have been printed in the same printing establishment from which issued the *Donatuses* described by Meerman, and the *Speculum*.

"In effect, were I, also," he continues, "to have recourse to conjectures, what would be more easy for me, than to insist, and with better foundation than Meerman, that this little work and many others similar, which I could indicate, were printed in the city of Bruges, or, which would still do better, in that of Antwerp ? For it is known, not from hear-say evidence and uncertain tradition, but from authentic documents, that there existed in these cities, before the middle of the fifteenth century, a corporation, or company of Arts and Trades, composed of Calligraphists, Illuminators, '*Printers*,' Book-binders, &c., which the city of Haerlem certainly had not. Is it not more probable, and much more natural to believe, that the famous Flemish '*Speculum*,' so much insisted upon by Meerman, is the work of these *printers* (or manufacturers of the rude images of Saints, by means of engraved blocks of wood), rather than of the fabulous Coster ? Yes, certainly : but this is but a supposition, and cannot be produced in proof of an historical fact."

I believe the document, proving the existence of the above company of Caligraphists, *Printers*, &c. &c. at Antwerp and Bruges, in

the year 1440, had not been discovered when Heinecken wrote his ‘*Idée Générale*.’ It would sadly have disconcerted him, to be obliged to admit such early evidence of the use of wood-engraving in the Low Countries, as it seems to afford. His passage from the manuscript Ulm Chronicle, can make but a poor stand against it; as, according to his own shewing, it would seem more probable, that the foreign playing-cards and printed figures, which are mentioned in the decree of the Government of Venice, of 1441, came from Antwerp, than from Germany.

“For the rest,” continues Santander, “we may be assured that this leaf of parchment, the pretended essay of Coster, whatever Meerman may say, is printed with cast type; and I am persuaded that, so far from having been executed about 1430, it is not anterior to 1480, . . . But such is the enthusiasm of Meerman, that he would represent, in his favourite Coster, an extraordinary artist, who, contrary to the natural order in the invention of arts, commences his pretended essay by a book printed with moveable characters, and with pages on both sides, and afterwards, retrograding to the first elementary ideas, finishes, where the art ought to have begun, by printing the ‘*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*,’ the ‘*Biblia Pauperum*,’ and other works of the same kind, which are impressed on one side of the paper only, and which Meerman attributes, without foundation, to his pretended proto-typographer.”

The reader will remember, that Gutenberg and Fust are also represented by Heinecken, as having retrograded at Mentz, when they printed a ‘*Donatus*’ from engraved wooden blocks, fourteen years after Gutenberg had, as he supposes, invented moveable characters. Besides, where is there to be found any essay of the first Mentz printers, in which the leaves are not printed on both sides the paper or parchment. As for the *Speculum* being printed only on one side, the reason is evident: the friction, necessary to take off the impressions of the cuts on one side the paper, dirtied the other, and rendered it unfit to receive an impression. But I shall speak more fully upon this point hereafter.

“I say,” continues Santander, “that Meerman has ascribed these works to Coster, without foundation; as the *Baron Heinecken* has PROVED DEMONSTRATIVELY, that all these books with figures cut in wood, were originally engraved and



*printed in Germany.* The reader may consult, on this subject, his work entitled, *Idée Générale d'une Collection Complète d'Estampes*; Leipsick, 1771, in 8vo.; where we have, among others, a very detailed account of the different editions of the '*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*,' a work, which the fable of Junius, and the pretensions of the Hollanders, have rendered famous: it will be there seen, that we have two Latin editions of it without date; another Latin-German edition, printed at Augsburg, in 1471; several in the German language, some with the dates 1476, 1492 and 1500; two in the Flemish language, without date, and a third printed by J. Veldener, in 1483; others in the French language; as well as several ancient manuscripts, preserved in the libraries of the cities, universities and monasteries of Germany:" [and, he might have added, of the Low Countries, France, and England.]

I have already shewn, that Heineken, so far from having proved demonstratively, that the first editions of *all* the block-books were printed in Germany, has not proved that even *one* of the principal books of that kind was first printed there. The reader may now judge, how far dependence ought to be placed on the decisions of Santander, in any matter at all connected with the Haerlem controversy.

"A copy of the Flemish edition of this '*Speculum*,' having fallen into the hands of Junius, no more was wanting to induce him to attribute the impression of it to his favourite Coster; which he did the more willingly, as it came very aptly in support of his tale; and as no one else could with confidence lay claim to the work, which is destitute of all marks, indicative of the place of its execution, or of the name of the printer. Meerman, whose system of typographical history is essentially founded on the narrative of Junius, takes infinite pains to make us believe that this Flemish edition, which however is but a translation from the Latin, was the *first* edition printed: he assures us, that it was executed by Lawrence Coster, and consequently pretends that it was printed with moveable characters of wood. But it is now proved by the best bibliographers, and agreed by all good judges in these matters, that the supposition of Meerman is untenable; that the Flemish edition of the *Speculum* is executed with cast type; and that so far from being a production of the proto-typographer Coster, it is in fact posterior to the first books printed at Mentz: nay, more, there is good reason to believe, that it is not anterior to the year 1470; as the Latin edition, which, whatever Meerman may say to the contrary, will ever be considered by enlightened bibliogra-

phers as the first edition, is itself executed in part with moveable type, and cannot be of a date much more remote, *as* among the books of this kind, with engraved images, it is one of the least ancient;" [that is, Santander ought to have added, according to the 'dictum' of Heineken.]

" But let us suppose, for a moment, with Meerman, that the Flemish edition of the Speculum is the *first*; how does it follow, as a consequence, that it was printed by Coster? Where is the proof of it? It is perhaps, because it is in the Flemish language. But we have an infinite number of books in the Flemish language, printed in the fifteenth century at Gouda, Utrecht, Louvain, Antwerp, and other towns of the Low Countries, by celebrated printers: why then attribute it by preference to Coster, that is to an unknown personage, of whom no author said a word until more than a century after he had ceased to exist, if indeed he ever had existence? But it is a work, say they, with figures and images cut in wood: this is true; but, without repeating what we have said above, of the manufacturers of wood-cuts of images established at Bruges, and at Antwerp, before the middle of the fifteenth century, have we not works of this kind printed at Louvain, Utrecht and elsewhere, by the celebrated J. Veldener? I am of opinion, that every enlightened and impartial person will see infinitely more reason to attribute, preferably, the said edition of the Speculum to this artist, who, in 1483, printed a small work of the same kind, containing, in 64 vignettes, engraved in wood in the same style, a history of the Holy Cross: it would be so much the more reasonable to attribute it to him, as this same Veldener also reprinted, in the year 1483, the said Speculum of which we speak, with the same engraved vignettes that had served for the preceding editions, after having sawed each into two pieces, in order to adapt them to the quarto form of this new edition. I am aware that Meerman answers, at once, to these reasons, that these same cuts, which he pretends had been engraved by Coster at Haerlem, were afterwards purchased by Veldener: but this, again, is one of those gratuitous suppositions, which he always has ready at hand; and I am well persuaded, that if all these little works, printed by Veldener, did not bear the name of the printer, Meerman would have attributed them to Coster."

With respect to Santander's opinion, of the reasonableness of attributing the ancient Flemish or Dutch edition of the Speculum, in folio, to Veldener, rather than to the unknown Coster, I shall briefly remark, that that opinion would seem better founded, than under existing circumstances it appears to be, were some of the known



works of Veldener printed in a type resembling that of the folio *Speculum*, and were the cuts which they contain printed with a brown tint by friction, as is the case in all the ancient folio editions of that work. Santander, when he wrote all this, could not be ignorant, that one of the two Dutch editions, in folio, is printed with the same identical type as the two Latin editions; and that the type of the other, of which he here speaks, is exactly of the same shape, though a very little smaller. The cuts, Heinecken had told him, are the same in all these editions. How, with the knowledge of these circumstances, he could persuade himself that the Latin edition or editions were first printed in Germany, and that the Dutch or Flemish editions were afterwards executed in the Low Countries, seems very strange, and only to be accounted for by his blind deference to the opinions of Heinecken.

Santander then proceeds to remark upon the other discrepancies in Meerman's interpretations of Junius, with which, generally, I shall not trouble myself; as I am neither disposed to defend the errors and extravagancies of the writers on one side of this controversy, or on the other. Speaking of the 'Alex. Galli Doctrinale,' and the 'Petri Hispani Tractatus,' said to have been printed in 1442, at Mentz, with the type stolen at Haerlem, (though I think Junius, perhaps, intended to speak of the former work only, as having been so printed) he says in a note :

“What then is become of these famous Opuscles, printed with the wooden characters robbed from the work-shop of Coster? Let one copy of them, at least, be produced. To this observation Meerman answers, that, having been printed only for the use of schools, they have been destroyed by the long and rough handling of the boys who learnt from them. But if Meerman has not seen these pretended impressions, since they are destroyed, how can he undertake to assure us that they were printed with characters of wood?”

On the subject of the 'Alex. Galli Doctrinale,' I would observe, in this place: *First*, That according to Junius, it could not have been printed with moveable characters of wood; for that writer says expressly, that, though Coster's first characters were made of wood,

he afterwards made them of lead, and lastly, of pewter ; and no doubt he meant to say, that it was these last that were stolen : *Secondly*, that fragments of an ‘*Alexandri Galli Doctrinale*,’ printed with the same type as the first three editions of the *Speculum*, do exist in the Royal Library at the Hague, and I believe, also, at the *Bibl. du Roi*, at Paris ; though, when I say this, I do not mean to vouch for the book having been printed in 1442, at Mentz.

“ Now,” says Santander, “ if we examine all the authors without exception, who have written in favour of Haerlem, we shall not find the smallest proof, the least contemporaneous document in support of their pretensions : all that we read in them, all that they allege, reduces itself to the narrative of Junius, which was itself composed from light hearsay evidence, and which each writer comments upon, according to his fancy,” &c. &c. &c.

What! are the fragments of *Donatuses*, found in Holland, and, printed in the same type as the *Speculum*, to be considered as no evidence whatever of early printing in that country ; especially when coupled with the statement of Ulric Zell (the first printer of the Mentz school, who printed out of Mentz), that Gutenberg took the idea of his invention ‘from the *Donatuses* which had been before printed in Holland ?’ Is the manuscript memorandum of Mariangelus Accursius nothing ; and are the fragments of the ‘*Alex. Galli Doctrinale*,’ of the existence of which Santander could hardly be ignorant, in no degree whatever corroborative of Junius’s narrative ? The silence of Santander upon all these points, but more especially upon Ulric Zell’s testimony, says little for his candour ; and, together, with his constant endeavours to ridicule Meerman’s interpretations of Junius’s narrative, instead of inquiring coolly, how far what is said by the original author might be supported by circumstantial, or other corroborative testimony—making allowance, also, as he ought to have done, for the inaccuracies inseparable from an account drawn up, after the lapse of a century, from the hear-say testimony of various persons—shews too clearly, that he wished to keep from his readers the true state of the question ; and that he wrote on this controversy, not in the spirit of an inquirer after truth, but in that of a thorough-going partizan.



After having repeated from Heineken, that Van Mander not only says nothing of Laurence Coster, but that he even condemns the pretensions of Haerlem to the invention of printing, as ill-founded, (though he is afterwards obliged to contradict this in his *Addenda*, Vol. 3, page 486), Santander again speaks of engraving in Wood :

“ The art of engraving in wood for the purpose of printing, which apparently owed its origin to the card-makers, was discovered and invented in Germany, as we have already said. It is to Germany, that we are indebted for the ‘ *Biblia Pauperum*,’ the ‘ *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*,’ the ‘ *Ars Moriendi*,’ the ‘ *Historia Apocalypsis*,’ the ‘ *Ars Memorandi*,’ the ‘ *Historia Virginis ex Cantico Canticorum*,’ and many other ancient books of images engraved in wood, which are commonly considered as the first essays of the Art of Printing, and which Meerman attributes gratuitously, without the least proof, or the least appearance of probability, to his sacristan or churchwarden, at Haerlem : it is from Germany that this art passed, in the sequel, to the neighbouring countries, and particularly into Belgium.” [I need not repeat my denial of the above unfounded assertion, as to the German origin of the principal Block-books.]

He then copies, in a note, Heineken’s account of the wood-engraving, marked, ‘ *Gheprint l’Antwerpen, by mij Phillery de figursnider*,’ (see our pag. 70-71.) and adds, triumphantly (unfortunate Santander!) :

“ *This Phillery was without doubt, a member of the above described corporation* : he was an engraver of wood-cuts with images, at Antwerp ; why may not he have been the author of the Flemish *Speculum*, rather than the churchwarden of Haerlem ? Meerman, with all his researches, has not been able to produce even one similar little wood-cut, printed in the workshop of the pretended Coster : [that is, I suppose he means, bearing his name.]”

“ The great number of works of this kind,” he proceeds to say, “ which are every day found in the chief libraries, as well public as private, of the universities, cities, monasteries, and persons of rank in Germany, are an unequivocal proof, that this art was there discovered ; and that it was practised there, without interruption, from its origin, until the commencement of the sixteenth century :” [and then he speaks of the *St. Christopher* with the date of 1423.] “ This remarkable piece,” he continues, “ shews us clearly, that in the year 1423, they already engraved in Germany, letters and images,

for the purposes of impression : here, at least, we have a proof, a document, of a very different kind from the hear-say reports, and the hypotheses, advanced in the romantic recital of Junius, and in the commentary of Meerman," &c. &c.

With respect to the early wood-cuts found by Heineken, pasted within the covers of old books, in the libraries of Germany ; they ought, I think, certainly to be admitted, as sufficient proof, that the art of wood-engraving was known and practised in that country, at an early period. But did Heineken search, in vain, for similar images in the monastic and other libraries of Belgium ? I am not aware that he ever examined them for that purpose, or Santander either ; and if he did not ; then is his success, in finding old wood-cuts in the libraries of Germany, no evidence whatever against an equally early use of them in the Low Countries. I shall have occasion to speak more particularly of the St. Christopher hereafter. I shall at present only observe of that print, that the proof of its having been engraved in Germany, would be more complete than it is, if the inscription upon it were in the German, and not in the Latin language ; which last was certainly used, in the 15th century, in other parts of Europe as well as in Germany.

" To supply the want of proof," he tells us, " the partizans of Coster have had recourse to books of the fifteenth century without date, and without the name or place of abode of the printer, of which there exist a great number," &c. " After having tried all kinds of hypotheses and conjectures, Meerman has recourse, for proof, to the '*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*,' before mentioned. . . . But this is not all : for, following the example of Jo. Christ. Seiz, in his famous work, '*Het derde jubeljaar der Boeck-druk-konst*,' he ranges chronologically, according to his fancy, all these old impressions, as if they had really been executed by Coster between the year 1430 and 1448 ; and he does it with as much apparent confidence, as if each each of the books he describes, had been stamped at the end with the date of its execution." . . . . Meerman," he also tells us, " discovered, in his typographical dreams, that the printing-office of Coster was continued, after his death, about the year 1440, until the year 1472, by his heirs, Peter, Thomas, and Andrew, the children of his son-in-law Thomas," &c. &c.



It is by no means my intention to defend the dates at which Meerman has placed the different editions of the *Speculum*, &c. With respect to his opinion, that the heirs of Coster continued the printing business, after his death, I have already shewn, that it is naturally to be inferred from Junius's mention of the drinking-cups, made of old type, which, when he wrote, were still preserved in the house wherein the family had resided.

After a few other remarks of little import, and which, do not affect the general question, Santander definitively passes sentence on Coster : assuring us,

That the pretensions of the city of Haerlem are but a chimera, which owed its origin to the fabulous recital of Adrian Junius, and has been rendered more and more romantic by the hypotheses and conjectures of his commentators ; and that the pretended Laurent Jansoen, the illustrious descendant of the ancient Counts of Holland, the citizen condemned for sedition, the sheriff, magistrate, treasurer, and lastly, the sacristan or churchwarden of Haerlem, can only be considered as the Don Quixotte of Meerman's typographical romance."

The reader will have perceived, that the argument of Santander, upon the Haerlem question, is, from beginning to end, little else than an echo of what Heinecken had before advanced in his '*Idée Générale*.' It was my knowledge of this circumstance, that occasioned me, when examining Heinecken's work, to be so careful to omit none of his pretended proofs, nothing that could be called an argument. Santander, we see, who is so clamorous for solid evidence, when Haerlem is concerned, has taken for gospel all that Heinecken has been pleased to advance, on the side of Germany ; and has been willing to receive without examination, and to vouch for, as undoubted facts, not only the assertions of that writer, but even his suppositions and conjectures.

It appears to me that the argumentative parts of both these writers, are a tissue of sophistry ; and that most of what they would call their proofs, although enforced by often-repeated affirmations, resolve themselves, upon examination, into mere probabilities, differing in degree ;

and not a few of them into bare possibilities, only. We are indebted to Heineken, as has been before observed, for a very interesting catalogue of the Block-books; and Santander has given, I believe, very accurate lists of early printed books, generally. The value of their labours, in these respects, I fully appreciate: but in the controversial part of their writings, neither of them seems to have borne in mind, that before an author builds upon a supposed fact, he ought to ascertain it to be a true one; and Santander, especially, when he adopted so implicitly all that Heineken had been pleased to advance upon the subject in question, afforded an humiliating lesson, of the facility with which even 'an enlightened bibliographer' may be misled, if he suffer himself, in an evil hour, to be hood-winked by prejudice.

Having settled the Haerlem question, Santander thus prefaces what he considers as the real history of the art of printing: for I think it necessary to extend my remarks to this part of his work, also; as in speaking of early Mentz typography, and especially in his account of Gutenberg, he often appears to take unwarrantable liberties with the documents to which he refers, and to argue from them unfairly; besides, that he is little less liberal of his conjectures and assumptions, than Meerman is in his account of Coster:

"Let us now," says he, "pass to the examination of facts more certain; by means of which, without having recourse to hypotheses and conjectures, fitted rather to confuse than to throw light upon history, we hope to be able to fix, in a more precise manner, the epoch of the origin of the art of typography.

"It appears very certain, that the invention of printing owes its origin to the art of engraving in wood; that the manufacturers of playing-cards, whose origin is traced to the fourteenth century, were the first who engraved the images of saints, &c. . . .; that, the art advancing, historical subjects, with explanatory text, were engraved upon the same blocks; of which those books of images were made, which are known under the titles of the '*Biblia Pauperum*,' the '*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*,' the '*Ars Moriendi*,' &c. . . . and that these led the way to the important invention of typography: as nothing more was required than to separate the letters, engraved in relief on these



blocks, or to carve them on separate pieces of wood, in order to have moveable characters, with which a person would be able to print any word, sentence or discourse, that he might desire.

“ This it was,” he continues, “ which was done about the year 1438, by Johan Gutenberg of Mentz, a very ingenious artist ; as is proved by the authentic depositions in a process, first printed in the original German and in a Latin translation by Schöpflin, in his ‘ *Vindiciæ Typographicæ*,’ and afterwards reproduced by Meerman, in his ‘ *Origines Typographicæ*.’

“ These judicial acts, these documents, which we owe to the literary researches of the learned Schöpflin, instruct us that Joh. Gutenberg, a man of an inventive spirit, who continually employed himself in ingenious projects in the mechanical arts, was a native of Mentz ; that he was born of noble parentage, and that he had resided for a long time in the city of Strasburg, where he had acquired the right of citizen : for it is in the two characters of noble and of citizen, that his name appears in the year 1439, in the register, or roll, of the taxes upon wine, in the said city ; a circumstance which, it appears, has led into error those who have mentioned Strasburg as the place of his birth.

Upon the above passage, Santander has two notes. In the first he informs us that

“ Joh. Gutenberg is styled in these documents, ‘ *Johannes Gutenberg* ;’ ‘ *Johannes de Moguntia, dictus Gutenberg* ;’ ‘ *Johannes dictus Gensefleisch, junior, dictus Gutenberg* ;’ ‘ *Johannes Gansfleisch, dictus Sulgeloch vel Sorgenloch*.’ ”

But, when he says so, he must intend to speak of other documents, as well as the Strasburg process ; as in that document he is always styled Gutenberg, or Joh. Gutenberg, except once in the summing up of the judges, where he is styled ‘ *Hans (or Johan) Genzefleisch von Mentz called Gutenberg*.’ The second note is as follows :

“ By a letter, which Joh. Gutenberg wrote to his sister, a nun in the convent of St. Clair, at Mentz, it is proved that, in 1424, he was already domiciled at Strasburg. As this letter,” says Santander, “ disproves the assertions of Meerman, as to the pretended poverty of Gutenberg, I think it advisable to introduce it in this place, according to the French translation of Oberlin. (‘ *Essai d’Annales de la vie de J. Gutenberg*,’ pp. 3, 4.)

“ To the worthy Nun Bertha, in the convent of St. Clair, at Mentz, health and fraternal good wishes. My dear sister, with respect to what you say of the rents and money which were left to you by our brother Conrad, whom God bless, by his last will ; that often and for a long time past they have not been paid to you, and that they are still owing to you, and amount as you say to a considerable sum ; I have to inform you, that, upon giving a receipt, you may receive the sum of twenty florins (of gold) out of my rents and revenues, coming, as you know, from Mentz, and other places ; by applying to Joh. Dringelter, the wax-chandler ; Veronica Mystersen, at Seilhoven ; or at Mentz, and various other places, of which Pedirman can inform you ; as at Lorzwiller, Bodenheim, and Murminheym. I purpose, if it please God, to have the pleasure of seeing you before long, and to arrange the matter with Pedirman, so that your property may be promptly delivered to you, according to the terms and intention of the will. I await your answer upon this subject. Given at Strasburg ; feriâ quintâ post dominicam (the 24th March) M.CCCC.XX.III.’  
(signed) Henne Gensfleisch, called Sulgeloch.”

Although so many places are mentioned in this letter, where Bertha might get her money, we know not whether she ever received it ; or whether, like her sister Hebele, thirty-five years afterwards, she ultimately consented to take Gutenberg’s books instead.

“ Joh. Gutenberg,” he goes on to say, “ was cited, in 1437, before the magistracy of Strasburg, by Anne, called *Zur Isernen Thür*, to whom he had made a promise of marriage : it is believed that, in consequence of this judiciary procedure, he afterwards married her ; as the name ‘ Anne de Gutenberg,’ found in one of the town registers, seems to designate the same ‘ Anne zur Isernen Thur,’ after she had become his wife.

“ But, to return,” says Santander, “ to our subject. It will be proper here to examine the most essential parts of the documents in question ; namely, of the pieces of the law-suit above-mentioned, which was brought against Joh. Gutenberg, by the brothers George and Nicolas Dritzehen, in the year 1439, in the said city of Strasburg ; wherein are shown the first attempts which were made in the art of printing.

“ Being possessed of various secrets in the arts, Joh. Gutenberg discovered a part of them, upon receiving a remuneration of 160 florins, to Andrew Dritzehen, Joh. Riffe, and Andrew Heilmann, with whom he contracted a partnership, limited to certain objects.



“ Sometime afterwards, Andrew Dritzehen and And. Heilman, having one day visited Gutenberg at his house at St. Arbogaste, without the walls of Strasburg, found him occupied with a wonderful unknown art, which he had hitherto carefully kept secret : they urged him with many persuasions to communicate it to them ; and, Gutenberg having at length consented, a new partnership was entered into by the parties, for the term of five years, two of the conditions of which were as follow : *first*, that the partners [Santander ought to have said, the two new partners, Dritzehen and Heilman] should pay to J. Gutenberg (between them) a further sum of two hundred and fifty florins, one hundred immediately, and the remainder at stated periods. *Secondly*, that, if during the existence of the partnership one of the partners should die, the survivors should pay to the heirs of the deceased the sum of one hundred florins, in full for his share of the property of the partnership ; and that all the remaining stock, of whatever kind, should continue the joint property of the surviving partners.

“ Andrew Dritzehen was still indebted to Gutenberg in the sum of eighty-five florins, when he died. George and Nic. Dritzehen, upon the death of their brother Andrew, demanded admission into the society in his stead. This was refused ; and they therefore brought an action against J. Gutenberg, as chief of the society, before the magistracy of Strasburg. Gutenberg defended himself upon the ground of the contract for the last partnership, the particulars of which he, as well as his surviving partners, proved upon oath ; and he was freed from the claims brought against him, by the sentence of the judge, dated Dec. 12, 1439, upon payment of fifteen florins to the heirs of the deceased ; which, added to the eighty-five florins due from And. Dritzehen to Gutenberg when he died, completed the sum of one hundred florins, stipulated by the said contract.

“ We shall now see,” continues Santander, “ by the declarations of the witnesses in this cause, that the mechanical secret to which the above contract or agreement of partnership related, and which J. Gutenberg had so carefully kept to himself, was no other than the discovery of the art of printing.<sup>19</sup>

(1.) “ Anne femme de Jean Schultheiss,      (1.) “ Anne the wife of Joh. Schultheissen, the woodman, deposed, that Laurence était venu un jour chez elle trouver Nico-      Beildeck came one day to her house to

<sup>19</sup> Santander has given the original text of the following passages, with Schöpflin's Latin translation, in the margin below. As they are already before the reader (see Chap. III.), I shall here give Santander's French version of them, in preference.

las Dritzehen, son parent, et qu'il lui avait dit: 'mon cher Nicolas Dritzehen, Andre Dritzehen, d'heureuse mémoire, a laissé *quatre pièces* arrangées dans une presse; Gutenberg vous a prié de les ôter et les démonter, afin qu'on ne puisse voir ce que c'est, car il ne veut pas que personne les voie.'

(2.) "Jean Schultheiss, mari de la précédente, fit à-peu-près la même déclaration.

(3.) "Conrad Sahspach, tourneur, déposa, qu'André Heilmann, étant venu le trouver, rue des Marchands, lui avait dit: 'Conrad, André Dritzehen est mort, et puisque vous avez fait la presse, et que vous connaissez bien cette affaire, allez-y ôtez de la presse les pièces, et défaites-les, afin que personne ne puisse connaître ce que c'est.'

(4.) "La déposition de Laurent Beildeck, domestique de Gutenberg, est encore plus expressive: il déclara que Jean Gutenberg l'avait envoyé chez Nicolas Dritzehen, après la mort de son frère André, pour lui dire qu'il devait avoir soin de ne laisser voir la presse, qui était chez lui, à personne au monde; il déclara encore que Gutenberg lui avait commandé d'aller tout de suite *aux presses*, d'ouvrir *celle à deux vis*, pour faire tomber *les pages* en pièces, et de placer ces pièces dans la presse, où bien en-dessus; car, cela étant fait, personne ne pourrait comprendre le secret.

(5.) "Antoine Heilmann a encore déclaré, qu'il savait fort bien que Gutenberg avait envoyé son domestique, peu avant Noël, chez les deux Andrés (André Dritzehen et André Heilmann), pour demander toutes les formes, qui furent défaites en sa

visit her cousin Nicolas Dritzehen, and that he said to him: 'my dear Nicolas Dritzehen, Andrew Dritzehen, of happy memory, has left *four pieces* arranged in a press; Gutenberg desires that you will take them out and decompose them; in order that it may not be known what it is, for he would not that any person should see them.'

(2.) "Johan. Schultheissen, the husband of the preceding witness, made a similar declaration.

(3.) "Conrad Sahspach, turner, deposed, that Andrew Heilman having called upon him in the street of the merchants, said to him: 'Conrad, Andrew Dritzehen is dead, and as you made the press, and are well acquainted with this business, go, and take the pieces out of the press, and decompose them, in order that no body may know what it is.'

(4.) "The deposition of Laurence Beildeck, the servant of Gutenberg, is even still more expressive: he declared that Joh. Gutenberg had sent him to Nicolas Dritzehen, after the death of his brother Andrew, to desire him to take care not to let the press, which was at his house, be seen by any person breathing; he also declared, that Gutenberg had ordered him to go immediately to *the presses*, and to open that *which had two screws*, in order that *the pages* might fall to pieces, and to place these pieces in the press, or upon it; for, that being done, no one would be able to understand the secret.

(5.) "Anthony Heilman also declared, that he well knew that Gutenberg had sent his servant, a little before Christmas, to the two Andrews (Andrew Dritzehen and Andrew Heilman), to fetch all the forms, which were loosened in his presence,



présence, parce qu'il y avait des choses à corriger : Heilmann ajoute, qu'après la mort d'André, comme il y avait beaucoup de curieux pour voir la presse, Gutenberg avait envoyé itérativement son domestique pour la démonter, afin de la soustraire à tous les regards.

(6.) “Finalement, Jean Dunne, orfèvre, déclara, qu'il y avait trois ans environ qu'il avait reçu de Gutenberg près de cent florins, pour prix de choses propres à l'impression.”

because there were things to be corrected : Heilman added, that after the death of Andrew, as there were many curious persons who wished to see the press, Gutenberg repeatedly sent his servant to take it to pieces, in order to remove it from all observation.

(6.) “Lastly, Joh. Dunne, a goldsmith, declared, that about three years previously he had received from Gutenberg nearly an hundred florins, in payment for things appertaining to impression.”

“These testimonies,” continues Santander, “shew us so clearly and precisely the elements of the new art of printing, sought out and discovered by the happy genius of Johan. Gutenberg, that no one, I should think, can reasonably have any doubts on the subject. For the rest, bibliographers in general are agreed in opinion, that they relate to the art of printing ; but the question is, whether J. Gutenberg, in these essays, employed fixed characters engraved on wood, or moveable types. Many learned men have thought, not without reason, that these testimonies relate to printing with moveable characters—it matters little of what material ;—and certainly this sentiment, notwithstanding the objections that have been made to it, appears to be well founded. In effect, the depositions of the witnesses seem to prove that the matter in question is not that of printing from engraved blocks, but of the real art of typography ; of printing, properly so called, exercised with moveable characters : otherwise, why this anxiety, this haste of Gutenberg, in sending his servant to the house of his deceased partner, with the order *to go immediately to the presses, to open that with two screws, in order that the pages might fall in pieces, and to place these pieces in the press, or upon it ?* If these pages had been engraved on fixed blocks, how could they have fallen to pieces, upon the press being unscrewed, or decompose themselves like moveable type ? Besides, what would have been the use of placing them afterwards *upon the press, by way of hiding the secret ?* On the contrary, that would have been a means of discovery ; as these engraved blocks, being exposed to view, would have been very easy to recognize ; especially as the art of printing images with sentences or explanations, from engraved wooden blocks, had been long known in Germany, as we have before shewn. Besides, one does not see the necessity of forms and presses for these blocks, which it was customary to print with the rubber used by the card-makers.

“ We may therefore be sure, that if the pages spoken of had been composed of fixed characters, engraved on blocks of wood, Gutenberg would have ordered his servant to hide them somewhere, or to bring them to him, instead of leaving them exposed to the view of all the world, as they would be when placed upon the press : but, with moveable characters, Gutenberg was not required to use this precaution, as when once they were de-composed and out of the form, no person, from seeing them, could conceive the least idea of the art, especially at a time when printing, properly so called, was absolutely unknown.”

Although I am desirous to interrupt Santander as little as possible, I must for the second time observe, that his last reason—which the reader will perceive is taken from Heineken—is not a good one. We may, I think, as I have before said, take it for granted, that the first attempts to print with moveable characters were made with letters of large, rather than of small, dimensions ; there can be no doubt, that not a few of the pieces contained two and even three letters, joined together ; and it is difficult to suppose that the inhabitants of Strasburg, at this time, (who it is said were anxious to see the press), could have been so blind, as not to discover that one end of each of these pieces had one or two letters ; that there were *a*, and *b*, and *c*, and *d*, &c, and that by placing the pieces side by side, and by varying their relative situations, words and sentences might be composed.

“ It must therefore be admitted,” he continues, “that the secret, to which the depositions of the witnesses above cited relate, can have been no other than that of printing with moveable characters ; and that these characters, whether of wood or of metal, it signifies not, were arranged in *forms* (or frames) and kept together by screws.”

In the concluding remark, Santander has taken a liberty with his text, not I think to be justified by the rules of fair criticism : for Laur. Beildeck in his deposition, as given above, speaks of *a press with two screws* (or *wurbelin*), and not of a *form*. Even, however, were we to allow to Santander not only the form, but also the two screws, (which are not mentioned in the original German) he would, I believe, find it no easy matter to compress together the different supposed characters in the form, by means of the screws, so as to keep them firm and



steady in their places ; even though the *form* contained only one single page, and not the *four pages* mentioned (according to the Latin translation) in the depositions of Anne, the wife of Johan Schultheissen, and of her husband.

In a note upon the last passage, our author observes, as follows :

“ There are those who think, that J. Gutenberg at this time used characters of metal ; founding their opinions upon the mention, in this process, of a certain quantity of lead which was purchased by his partner Dritzehen ; and upon the depositions of the goldsmith Johan Dunne, who declares that he had furnished Gutenberg with matters for the purpose of printing, to about the amount of three (Santander ought to have said, one) hundred florins. Certainly, this opinion appears very well founded : for characters engraved on pieces of wood, which, indeed, I doubt any persons having ever used, could not be employed in the execution of a work of typography, by reason of their fragility, and of the spongy nature of the material, which would render them liable to swell or contract continually.”

This last observation of Santander, appears to me more specious than solid : large sized letters, for printing with, are even now cut on pieces of wood, as every one knows ; and if we suppose boxwood to have been employed, which besides being hard, is also tough and of a very close grain, I can see no reason why letters of a quarter of an inch in height, like those of the Psalter of 1457, might not have been cut in such a material, and successfully employed in typography.

“ It is therefore *certain*,” continues Santander, “ from incontestible documents and authentic proofs, which alone can be the foundations of history, that Johan Gaensfleisch, called Songerloch, called Gutenberg of Mentz, the first who employed himself in the invention of printing, after various attempts suggested by his genius, had already, in 1439, so far succeeded as to establish, in the city of Strasburg, a press, forms, and other apparatus for the purpose of printing : so that, although, with all the endeavours of the said Gutenberg and his associates in this sort of work, they had the misfortune not to succeed perfectly in their enterprize—whether because of the imperfections of the apparatus newly invented and applied to use, or from other causes which are entirely unknown to us—that ought not to prevent us from styling the city of Strasburg, the true birth-place of typography. It is at Strasburg, that the

art of printing, properly so called, was, if I may so speak, sketched out by J. Gutenberg, which was afterwards finished and perfected by himself, in his native city of Mentz, by means of cast type ; as we now proceed to shew."

We are told in Santander's summing up of this process : *first*, that bibliographers, generally, *are agreed*, that it relates to *the Art of Printing* ; *secondly*, that many have *thought*, that it relates to *printing with moveable characters* ; *thirdly*, that some *think* these characters were of *metal* ; and *lastly*, that it is *certain*, that Gutenberg had established a *press, forms, and other printing apparatus*, during his residence at Strasburg ; according to the facile mode, with which this facile writer converts probabilities, and even possibilities, into certainties, whenever his argument requires it. Certainly, if his translation of Beildeck's testimony were accurate, the use of moveable types by Gutenberg, at this time, would be proved by it ; but it has been fully shewn that the original German will not bear that interpretation.

" The process between Gutenberg and the brothers of And. Dritzehen, having been terminated, it appears that his partnership with Joh. Riffe and And. Heilman, which the magistracy of Strasburg had pronounced to be valid, continued according to the contract : ' Nos prætor et senatus auditâ dictâ actione et exceptione. . . . Jubemus ergo, standum esse dictæ conventioni.' But we are entirely ignorant of what took place in the society afterwards, or of whatever advantages it may have drawn from the secret of the art of printing. Schöpflin believes that they printed several books without date, and without the name of the town, or printer ; but his opinion does not appear to be well founded. All that he says upon the subject of certain ancient editions without date, which he produces as the foundation of his opinion that they were printed by the said society, can be considered as no other than so many conjectures that prove nothing ; for by having recourse to similar means, any person, as we have before observed, may fix the origin of printing at any epoch, and in any town he may think proper.

" But, whatever took place, it appears certain that Johan Gutenberg, the chief of this Society, still resided at Strasburg in 1444 ; though, as his name is not found after this date in the rolls and registers of that city, it is probable that he changed his domicile shortly afterwards : dissatisfied perhaps with his



partners, or at the ill success of his mechanical projects, he took the resolution to quit the town of Strasburg, where he had lived more than twenty years, and returned to Mentz his native place, with the design, no doubt, of continuing his typographical operations."

Upon the above date, Santander has the following note, which does not appear to be very confirmatory of the alleged identity of Joh. Gaensfleisch and Joh. Gutenberg, upon the truth of which, so much of the history of the first Mentz printer seems to depend :

" Although the name of J. Gutenberg appears, in 1444, in the registers of the wine duties of the city of Strasburg, it is nevertheless certain, as appears from a document produced by Köhler, (*Ehrenrettung Guttenberg's*) that, in 1443, he had already hired a house at Mentz, his birth-place : Gutenberg is termed in this document, Gaensfleisch the *elder*, because at this epoch his uncle was dead, and consequently he had really become the elder." [Meerman insists that this Gaensfleisch, senior, was the elder brother of Joh. Gutenberg.]

" It is proved demonstratively," Santander proceeds to say, " by authentic documents, that Joh. Gutenberg, who had expended a large part of his fortune in the prosecution of his mechanical pursuits at Strasburg, contracted a new partnership in the year 1450, at Mentz, with Joh. Fust, a rich citizen of that town, for the formation of a printing establishment.

" The sums advanced by Fust to his partner Gutenberg, *who was charged with this establishment, (where, for the first time the Latin Bible was printed), having become considerable, another law-suit was the consequence.*"

Santander is very apt to introduce an important assertion in a parenthesis ; as in the present instance, with respect to the first Bible ; and sometimes he argues upon it, afterwards, as if upon a fact proved.

Fust demanded of Gutenberg, 2,020 florins of gold, in which amount were comprised two sums of 800 florins each, with interest ; and, after various hearings of the parties on either side, Fust obtained a formal award in his favour, which was signed Nov. 6, 1455, by the notary public, Ulric Helmasperger.

Santander has contented himself with giving a short abstract of this document. I have before given it entire ; thinking it very important that the reader should be made fully aware, both of what it does

contain, and of what it does not ; and I need not repeat what I then said concerning it. Santander proceeds :

“ The partnership having been dissolved in consequence of this process, all the typographical apparatus of Gutenberg, the moulds, characters and implements, newly invented, came into the possession of Fust. So true is this, that (as Fischer, in his ‘ *Essai sur les Monum. Typ. de Gutenberg*,’ has very satisfactorily proved,) *the initial letters, which Gutenberg had before used, were afterwards employed in the Psalters of 1457 and 1459, printed by Fust and Schoeffer* : for the rest, Gutenberg confessed, upon occasion of the above process of 1455, that he had mortgaged his apparatus to Fust for the sums advanced by him ; so that it is more than probable, that finding himself unable to pay back the amount awarded to Fust, Gutenberg gave up to him his apparatus and implements, in payment of the debt.”

I shall hereafter shew, that Fischer has *not* proved what Santander here asserts him to have done, as to the Initial Letters of the celebrated Psalter.

“ After this event,” continues Santander, “ some make Gutenberg go, from vexation, to Strasburg ; others to Haerlem : but all that has been said on this subject, is but the fable of system-mongers. On the contrary, an authentic agreement (for here we have nothing to do with conjectures) entered into in Mentz, in 1459, between this same Gutenberg, his brother, and a sister, who was a nun in the convent of St. Clair, in the said city, proves incontestably, that, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes common to men of great genius, Gutenberg established a new printing-office at Mentz ; where, without intermission, he printed various works, until Jan. 17, 1465 ; when, having been admitted as one of the gentlemen of the court of the Elector Adolphus of Nassau, with a liberal pension (which it does not appear he enjoyed long, as he died before the 24th Feb. 1468), he abandoned an art which had occasioned him so many disquietudes and disappointments.”

The document above mentioned, concerning the nun Hebele, has been given entire in our fourth chapter, with my reasons for entertaining doubts of its authenticity. I shall here, however, transcribe that part of it which speaks of Gutenberg’s printing,

“ And, with respect to the Books which I, the above named Henne, have given to the library of the convent, they are to remain there always, and in



perpetuity; and I, the above named Henne, purpose to give also, and without fraud, to the said convent for its library, for the use of the nuns present and future, for their religious services, whether in reading or singing, or in whatever manner they may please to make use of them, according to the rules of their order, *the Books which I, the above-named Henne, have already printed up to the present hour, or that I may print in future*, so far as they shall be pleased to make use of them;" &c.

"This passage," says Santander, "is most decisive: in 1459, therefore, Gutenberg had printed books, and purposed to print others in future: consequently Gutenberg had a printing-office, provided with the necessary implements, at this period."

Certainly, if this document be genuine: but as I have said, I cannot persuade myself that it is so.

"It is true," continues Santander, "that hitherto no printed work has been discovered, bearing the name of Joh. Gutenberg: but *it is now ascertained, beyond doubt, that the 'Catholicon Johannis de Baldis,' printed at Mentz in 1460, is one of the productions of his press; the characters being identically the same which were afterwards employed in the 'Vocabularium ex quo,' which was printed in the printing office of the said Gutenberg, in 1467; which printing office, with its types and apparatus, passed, after the death of Gutenberg, into the possession of Conrad Humery, Syndic of the city of Mentz, who, according to all appearances, had contributed to the expence of its establishment.*"

This, Santander says, *appears clearly* from the declaration of Conrad Humery of 1468, of which he gives an abstract; but which I have chosen to give entire in our Chapter IV., and to repeat here, in order that the reader be enabled to judge for himself, whether or not it warrants the above inference.

"I Conrad Humery, doctor, make known by these presents, that whereas the very reverend Prince, my gracious and beloved lord and master, Adolphus Arch-bishop of Mentz, has graciously permitted certain forms, letters, instruments, utensils, and other things pertaining to printing, which Johan Gudenberg left at his death, to come into my possession; and which *have been and still are mine*; I, in consideration of this favour, did bind, and do bind myself by these presents, as follows: namely, that should I at present or hereafter make use of the said forms and utensils for printing, I will do so *in the city of Mentz, and not elsewhere*; And further, that in case I should desire to sell

them, and a citizen should be willing to give as much for them as a stranger, I will dispose of and deliver them to the resident citizen, in preference of any stranger. In assurance of which I have affixed my signature and my seal to these presents, this Friday after the feast of St. Mathew, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1468."

It may, as I have before said, be reasonably conjectured from this document, that Gutenberg upon his death was indebted to Humery, and that the latter had satisfied the Arch-bishop that such was the case. But I can find nothing in it to warrant the supposition that Humery had advanced the money necessary to set Gutenberg up again in a new printing-office, after his separation from Fust in 1455. However this *appears very clear* to Santander, who thus proceeds :

"In fact, it appears, that the said *Humery*, shortly afterwards" (viz. after 1468) "*did sell the printing apparatus in question to Nicholas Becktermuntze, a printer at Elfeld, which was the place of residence of the Arch-bishop, and consequently enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the city of Mentz.*"

Santander omits to give his authority for the last part of this statement. Elfeld is, I understand, three or four miles from Mentz : I can readily conceive that, as a residence of the reigning prince, it might have its privileges ; but it does not follow that they were the same as those that appertained to Mentz itself ; and certainly Elfeld cannot be considered as a part of the city of Mentz.

But how does he prove, that Humery sold Gutenberg's apparatus to Nic. Becktermuntze ; that the ' *Catholicon* ' of 1460, was printed by Gutenberg ; and that the ' *Vocabularium ex quo*,' of 1467, was printed in Gutenberg's printing-office ?

"This Nicolas Becktermuntze," he tells us in a note, "reprinted at Elfeld, in 1469, the ' *Vocabularium ex quo*,' which had been before printed there, in 1467 ; having been begun by Henry Becktermuntze, and finished after his death by his brother, the said Nicolas. The type, employed in these two editions, is identically the same as that of the famous edition of the ' *Catholicon Joannis de janua vel de Baldis*,' of 1460, of which the ' *Vocabularium ex quo* ' contains some extracts, as well as great part of the subscription ; all which *proves victoriously*, that the above ' *Catholicon*,' printed at Mentz without the name of the printer, in 1460, issued from the press of J. Gutenberg."



But surely, the above evidence proves rather, that the *Catholicon* of 1460 had been printed by Henry Becktermuntze; as I have often, long ago, heard my friend Mr. Inglis observe. Nay, the proof that such was the fact, is as strong as can well be conceived; and is such as, in any other similar case, a bibliographical critic would at once admit to be conclusive: since the '*Catholicon*,' as he says, is printed in the same identical type as the '*Vocabularium ex quo*,' which, in the Edition of 1467, bears the name of Henry Becktermuntze, as the printer by whom it was commenced. Besides, *as the 'Vocabularium' was completed at Elfeld in Nov. 1467, it seems necessarily to follow, that it could not have been printed with the type of Gutenberg, which Conrad Humery tells us, in his letter, he had in his possession, at Mentz, in Feb. 1468, and had been in possession of some time previously.*

The reader may perhaps feel surprize, that a man like Santander should have so far forgotten himself, as to adopt a train of proofs and reasoning which involved so manifest a contradiction, and evidently led to a conclusion the opposite of what he intended to establish.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Fisher*, in his '*Essai sur les Monumens Typographiques de Jean Gutenberg*,' (4to. Mayence, An. X. 1802) pag. 51, thus avoids the absurdity, into which Santander's mode of stating the evidence upon this question afterwards led him: "In 1465," he tells us, "the Elector Adolphus II. received Gutenberg into his court, and granted him a pension; and from that time he entirely abandoned his press. *He however, permitted the use of it to his assistants, who published the 'Vocabularium ex quo,' in 1467, which is but an extract of the Catholicon of 1460, and of which the Second Edition appeared in 1469. It is probable that after his death, which took place before Feb. 24, 1468, they bought this printing apparatus from Doctor Humery, who having (he ought to have said, who having, as I conjecture) contributed to the re-establishment of Gutenberg's second printing-office, had then become entitled to it.*"

But the idea, that the Becktermunzes were first the *borrowers*, and afterwards the *purchasers* of Gutenberg's apparatus, has not been approved by a later writer, J. F. Née de la Rochelle, who conjectures as follows: "It appears probable that Gutenberg quitted this life in the year 1467;" [Observe, no document exists, mentioning Gutenberg, between 1465 and September 1468, when Humery speaks of him in his letter, as being then dead;] "since on the 4th of November in that year the workmen, who, during his life-time, had, under his superintendence, printed editions to which they did not venture to affix their names, no longer hesitated to produce openly the '*Vocabularium ex quo*,' commenced by Henry Bechtermuntze, and finished on the 4th of November,

Santander cannot, upon this occasion, be exonerated from the charge of gross carelessness; though the origin of his opinion may be accounted for as follows.

It was an old notion among bibliographers, that until after 1462 the secret of printing was known only, at Mentz, to Fust and his associates and sworn assistants, and to Gutenberg; who, as we have seen, separated from Fust in 1455, if not previously. This 'Catholicon,' it was observed, was printed with type somewhat dissimilar in its character, from that found in books known to have been printed by Fust and Schoeffer; and, therefore, it was conjectured that Gutenberg, after his separation from Fust, established a printing office of his own, of which this was one of the productions. An edition of the 'Vocabularium ex quo,' (as it is called) was found, printed at Elfeld, with the name of Nic. Becktermuntze, as the printer, and the date of June 1469; it was observed that the type was the same as that of the Catholicon of 1460; it was known, from the above mentioned letter of Conrad Humery, that, in Feb. 1468, certain types and other printing apparatus which had belonged to Gutenberg, were in that person's possession; and nothing, therefore, was more easy, than *to suppose* Humery to have soon afterwards sold them to Nic. Becktermuntze; and *to suppose*, that the latter used the types, so purchased, in the

1467, at Eltvil, by Nicolas Bechtermuntzé, brother of (the late) Henry, and Wingardum Spyes de Otherberg."

This hypothesis does not seem to me more reasonable than that of Fisher. The author seems to think that Gutenberg died in 1467, and that his apparatus came into possession of Humery before the date of the first edition of the Vocabularium, and that he permitted the Bechtermuntzes to have the use of it, as well for that edition as for the edition of 1469.

Both these writers have indulged in gratuitous assertion, and have heaped one conjecture upon another, in order to avoid the only conclusion which the evidence we possess naturally leads to; namely, that the Catholicon of 1460, was printed by Henry Bechtermuntze. For we have no proof that the Bechtermuntzes had ever been the assistants of Gutenberg; nor that Humery had helped Gutenberg to re-establish his press after his separation from Fust; nor that, after the death of Gutenberg, Humery sold or lent the printing apparatus, which in 1468 was in his possession *at Mentz*, to Nic. Bechtermuntze.



‘Vocabularium,’ in order *to prove victoriously*, (to use Santander’s favourite expression) that the ‘Catholicon’ of 1460 had been really printed by Gutenberg.

But, unfortunately, another edition of this ‘Vocabulary’ finished by the said Nic. Becktermuntze, in 1467, was at length discovered ; by which it became evident that the above hypothesis, which before seemed very plausible, was not well founded. How Santander could persuade himself that it remained as tenable, after this discovery, as it had appeared to be before, is to me quite incomprehensible. The colophon of the above first edition, of which only one copy is said to be known, (in the Bibl. du Roy at Paris) is as follows :

“ Presens hoc opusculum non stili aut penne suffragio sed nova artificiosa-  
que invencione quadam ad eusebiam dei industrie per Henricum Bechtermuncze  
pie memorie in altavilla est inchoatum, et demum sub anno dni M.CCCC.LXVII.  
ipso die Leonardi confessoris qui fuit quarta die mensis novembris per Nycolaum  
Bechtermuncze fratrem dicti Henrici et Wygandum Spyesh de Orthenberg est  
consummatum.

Hinc tibi sancte pater nato cum flamine sacro,  
Laus et honor dno trino tribuatur et uno  
Qui laudare piam semper non linque mariam.”

This colophon gives us the name of an ancient printer *Wyngandus Spyesh de Orthenberg*, of whom, as far as I can learn, no other memorial exists. Santander observes (Tom. III. p. 468.) that the edition of 1469 has nearly the same inscription as that of 1467 ; save that the date is changed, and, that the name of Nicölaus Bechtermuncze, only, appears as the printer.

It may be worth observing, that the Colophon of the ‘Catholicon,’ of 1460, has also, ‘non (calami) stili aut penne suffragio,’ and that it ends with the same verses : ‘Hinc tibi,’ &c. with this difference, that it has four, instead of three verses ; the third line,

‘Ecclesie laude libro hoc catholice plaude’,  
having been omitted, in the colophon of the ‘Vocabularium,’ as not applicable to that work.

This resemblance, in the Colophons of the two works, is a further

ground, in addition to the known identity of the type, for supposing both to have been printed at the same press, and under the eye of the same person. This person I conclude to have been Henry Bechtermuncze; who, from a solemn engagement, which he had probably entered into with Fust and Schoeffer, from whom he had learned the art, did not in 1460 feel himself at liberty to insert his name, as printer, in the colophon of the 'Catholicon.'

It is asserted by old writers, that solemn obligations were imposed by the inventors of printing, upon those persons whom they first initiated into the mysteries of the new art; though, it is probable, they were to be binding only for a limited time, or to have only a contingent duration. We may conjecture that those who were instructed in the art by Fust, and who desired to set up a press of their own, whether in Mentz or elsewhere, solemnly engaged that, during his lifetime, they would not affix their names to the books they printed, except by his particular permission; and thus, we may account for the considerable number of printed books, with date and printer's name, which appeared in various parts of Europe after 1466, the year in which Fust is believed to have died, and the very small number which are dated in that year, or previously.

Henry Bechtermuncze, if he had learned the art from Fust, would, under this supposition, therefore, have felt himself at full liberty, in 1467, to affix his name to the 'Vocabularium ex quo,' as his brother did for him after his death; although he had been withheld from doing so, in 1460, to the 'Catholicon.'

But no such motives could have operated upon Gutenberg, in restraining him from affixing his name to books printed by him after his separation from Fust; and it appears to me that his not having done so, that his not having vindicated his claim to the invention of typography, even in the colophon of one single volume, (whilst Fust and Schoeffer, in the colophons of their books, were taking all the honour to themselves,) is quite unaccountable, except upon the supposition, that after that event he did not print at all. I have already expressed my doubts of the genuineness of the document concerning



the nun Hebele. With respect to the printing apparatus, which Humery speaks of in his letter of 1468, we may conjecture, as I have said, that it consisted of little more than the imperfect instruments and type, which Gutenberg had prepared in the infancy of his invention; and that it was chiefly valued by the Arch-bishop, on account of its interest, as a monument of the first beginnings of an art, the promulgation of which had conferred so much honour upon the capital of his dominions.

“ But to return,” says Santander, “ to Joh. Fust, whom we left the master and possessor of all the primitive typographical apparatus of Gutenberg; after the compromise, or judicial act, of the 6th of November 1455, before mentioned. It appears that, in the sequel, this person conducted himself with but little fairness or liberality: for, without being himself an artist, and without having done any more than furnish to Gutenberg the necessary money for the printing establishment, and that at a high rate of interest, he took to himself all the honour, in the colophons of the books printed by him; and omitted to make any mention of him who was the inventor of the art, and had done every thing.”

I shall not repeat what I before said in answer to this accusation against Fust: I entirely differ from Santander; and think that the evidence we possess goes to shew, that Gutenberg failed in all his attempts to put the new art in practice; and that the labours and talents of Fust and Schoeffer, were chiefly instrumental in accomplishing it.

“ But, whatever were the facts of the case,” he continues, “ Fust well knew how to turn the art to account;” [*that is, he knew how to bring it into operation;*] “ and, with the assistance of an able calligraphist named Pieter Schoeffer de Gernsheim, a young man full of talents, very quick, and of an inventive spirit, who during the partnership had, it is probable, become more than initiated in the secret processes of the art, he gave to the public, shortly after his separation from Gutenberg, that is in August 1457, the fine edition of the ‘ Psalmorum codex;’ which is the first typographical performance at present known, bearing the name of the place where it was printed, the names of the printers, and the date of the year in which it was executed.”

In a note upon the latter part of this passage, Santander mentions

the well-known "Letters of Indulgence of Pope Nicholas V. for those who should assist the King of Cyprus against the Turks, and which are dated in the year 1454." He observes, "that it has been a very common opinion among bibliographers, that they were printed in that same year;" but that he is satisfied such was not the case. He thinks, on the contrary, that this piece, which is executed, he says, "with the same type as was *for the first time* employed by Fust and Schoeffer, in the 'Rationale Durandi,' of 1459, is much later than the above date of 1454, and was certainly printed after the Psalter of 1457.

"We have," he continues, "a similar example, among others, in the 'Bulla retractationum Pii Papæ II. the successor of Calixtus V. dated, v. of the Kal. of May, in the year 1463: for, although this Bull was addressed to the rector and members of the university of Cologne, and was printed in that same city by Ulric Zel, who first introduced printing there, (a remarkable circumstance, and which would seem to prove that it was committed to the press immediately after its reception), *it is nevertheless believed* that it was not printed until some years after 1463, the date of the year in which it was issued."

With respect to the above letter of Indulgence of 1454, it is very clear, that *if* the type it was printed with *was really used for the first time in the Durandus of 1459, the letter must have been printed after the Durandus*: but all here depends upon this *if*; and if those who are disposed to maintain that the letter was printed four or five years before the book, were to ask for good proof to the contrary, it might not be easy to produce it. As for the '*Bulla retractationum*,' of Pius II. dated May 1463, which Santander mentions in illustration, I am quite satisfied that it was printed by Ulric Zell immediately after its reception at Cologne, as has long been the opinion of my friend Mr. Inglis; and in fact I strongly suspect that Zell had established his press at Cologne as early as 1460, and perhaps even a year or two before. At all events, I have strong reason to believe that some of the books ascribed to Zell, were printed before 1460.

It will be seen, from the following passage, that Santander enter-



tained the opinion, that before the separation of Gutenberg from Fust, in 1455, Fust and Schoeffer had been merely lookers on.

“The shortness of the time,” he says “which elapsed, between the separation of Fust and Gutenberg and the date of the above Psalter, gives reason to believe that the characters, with which it is printed, had been prepared and finished by Gutenberg before his rupture with Fust: in fact, it does not appear probable, that in eighteen months time Pieter Schoeffer, who, it is true, according to the testimony of Trithemius, perfected the art of casting type, could have prepared all the characters necessary for the impression of so large a work, besides the instruments invented for the purpose of casting them, which he would have had to make likewise. And indeed, *the contrary is proved by the large initial letters, so much admired, in this edition of the Psalter; which are to be found in* PREVIOUS IMPRESSIONS, INCONTESTIBLY EXECUTED BY GUTENBERG.”

This last is very important information; and, for the proofs of its truth, we are referred to Fischer’s ‘*Essai sur les Monum. Typ. de Gutenberg*,’ page 44, and 74.

At the first page referred to, Fischer after having spoken of the law-process between Gutenberg and Fust, in 1455, observes, that “*it appears*”—he does not say where—“that Gutenberg, being unable to satisfy the judgment obtained against him, was obliged to give up his printing apparatus to Fust, to whom it had been made security,” &c.; and he adds, in proof that this was the case, (as *Oberlin* he says had conjectured,) that “*the characters and initial letters, employed by Fust and Schoeffer in the editions of the Psalter of 1457 and 1459, were the same as had before been used by Gutenberg.*” &c. This, however, is rather the promise of proof, than proof itself.

At page 74, the other place referred to by Santander, we find Fischer speaking of a fragment of a *Donatus*, which he had discovered, and which, because it is printed in the same type as what is called the Mazarine Bible, he had been pleased to ascribe to Gutenberg. This fragment is ornamented with some of the same Initial letters, as appear in the above Psalter; namely, an I. a P. an O. a C. and an E; all which are represented in an opposite plate, with this imposing inscription: ‘*Characteres Initiales auspiciis Joannis Gutenberg sculpti:*’

“ These beautiful Initials,” says he, “ *are doubtless the work of Gutenberg ;* as we find them employed in typographical monuments, executed before 1457. In the fragments of this edition of the ‘ Donatus,’ with 35 lines in a page, we have an I. a P. and a C. which I have caused to be imitated in the annexed plate. . . . There cannot be a doubt of the identity of these initial letters with those of the Psalter,” &c.

I quite agree with Fischer, that the initials in these two works are the same ; but I have in vain looked for his proof, either that this Donatus was printed by Gutenberg, or that it was printed before 1457. Would the reader believe, that, undoubted proof exists to the contrary, and that it is to be found at page 380, of the second volume of this very work of Santander, upon which we are remarking ? where, speaking of various fragments of the ‘ Donatus,’ which have at different times been discovered, he thus expresses himself:<sup>21</sup>

“ Fischer, also,” says Santander, “ discovered certain fragments of three different very ancient editions of this same latin grammar of Donatus ; one of them printed with the same characters as were used for the Bible, spoken of by us under No. 258 ; for which reason he believed it to have issued from the press of Gutenberg : it is true, that the learned bibliographer Mr. Van Praet, the keeper of the Imperial library at Paris, has lately discovered another fragment of this same edition cited by Fischer, on which is the following superscription :

“ EXPLICIT DONATUS, ARTE NOVA IMPRIMENDI SEU CHARACTERIZANDI, PER PETRUM DE GERNSZHEYM, IN URBE MOGUNTINA CŪ SUIS CAPITALIBUS ABSQ; CALAMI EXARATIONE EFFIGIATUS.

“ *But this discovery,” says Santander, “ does not in any way invalidate the opinion of Fischer ; for though this Donatus was printed by Schoeffer, the characters belong to Gutenberg. See on this subject,”* he adds, “ what we have observed under No 258.”

What an inherent principle of vitality exists in the hypotheses of

<sup>21</sup> We have before had another instance, in which Santander is obliged to contradict, in the body of his work, a fact stated by him, and argued upon, in his preliminary discourse. Santander ought to have borne in mind, that those who read the original statement, may not always chance to read the contradiction !



Santander and of his friends ! You may deprive them of their heads, their legs, their tails,—you may cut them into twenty pieces—and, still, like the polypus, they are as lively as before ! From the name of Schoeffer appearing to this *Donatus*, joined to the circumstance of its being printed with the same type as the Mazarine Bible, an ordinary reasoner would have argued, that the said Bible was printed by Schoeffer, likewise. But, let us see what Santander has further to advance, at the place referred to ; for it is very important to examine the pretensions of *this supposed first Bible*.

No. “ 258. BIBLIA SACRA LATINA. *Editio prima, typis grandioribus Moguntiae impressa, (anno 1455) 2 vol. in-fol. max.*

“ Bibliographers,” he tells us, “ have long disputed on the existence of the famous Latin Bible, the expences of the impression of which gave rise to the process which took place, in the year 1455, between J. Gutenberg and Fust ; and of which, it is said, this last took several copies to Paris, where he sold them advantageously as manuscripts, in consequence of the art of printing being at that time a secret.”

Here, at the off-set, Santander, as usual, indulges in gratuitous assertions. The reader has already seen, that no mention is made of the printing of a Bible, as the cause of the above law-suit, and that the law-suit could not have originated in that work ; as Gutenberg’s debt to Fust, on that occasion, was only 2,020, florins of gold, including interest ; whereas Trithemius has informed us, that more than 4,000 florins were expended upon the Bible, before the third gathering was finished.

“ If this story be true,” continues Santander, “ it is very certain that the said Fust could not have sold, as such, the copies of the Bible of 1462 ; because the subscription, at the end, states that they were the production of the new art of forming and printing letters ; ‘ *characterizandi absque calami exaratione* :’ an art which, five years before, had been announced in the impression of the Psalter of 1457,” &c.

What Santander here advances, also calls for remark. The first volume of the last mentioned Bible, in some copies, has at the end

*Explicit Psalterium, Anno M.CCCC.LXII.* with the usual arms of Fust and Schoeffer, and the second and last volume is dated in August, in the same year.

If Fust, as is said, went to Paris, that same year, in order to sell his printed Bibles, (as is reported by Naudé and others) and did there sell some of them as manuscripts, it would certainly be reasonable to conclude that it was these same Bibles of 1462, and no others, were it not for the objection stated by Santander, that, the colophon at the end declares them to be *productions of the new art of printing*. But upon this occasion, as upon so many others, our author conceals a part of the truth : for, (as he himself informs us at page 182, of his second volume), the Inscription at the end differs greatly, in different copies : some of them being entirely without the “*Artificiosa ad-inventionem imprimendi seu caracterizandi, absque calami exaratione,*” and having only such an inscription as is applicable to a manuscript ; namely :

“ Presens hoc opusculum finitum ac completum, & ad eusebiam Dei industrie in civitate Moguntina per Johannem Fust civem et Petrum Schoeffer de Gernsheim clericum diocesis ejusdem est consummatum. Anno incarnationis Dominice M.CCCC.LXII. in vigilia Assumptionis gloriose virginis Marie.”

But, more than this : it appears certain that *some copies*, at least, *were originally published without any Inscription (or colophon) at all*. Indeed, the variations observed in this inscription, in different copies, affords strong presumptive evidence, that it was not printed simultaneously with the last page of the work ; but that the printers (in consequence, perhaps, of their secret having been found out), added it, afterwards, to a few copies at a time, as they were wanted for purchasers : so that there is no good grounds for the assertion of Santander, that the Bible of 1462, could not have been that which Fust took with him to Paris, in order to sell as manuscripts.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Mr. Pettigrew, in his fine work, the ‘*Bibliotheca Sussexiana*,’ vol. II. p. 294-5, has an interesting article upon this Bible. Speaking of the story of copies having been sold at Paris for manuscripts, he says : “ If this account be true, which there is



I may further observe in this place, that, notwithstanding all that has been advanced in favour of the higher antiquity of other printed

great reason to doubt, the subscriptions, found at the end of the several copies which have been examined, must have been wanting, as an express mention is therein made" (that is in some copies) "of their being effected by the art of printing. *Clement* states, that *the copy in the Royal Library of France, and some other copies in Paris* (in what collections to be found, he does not specify) *are without the subscription,*" (it is possible, that he means without any subscription) "and thinks it not improbable that Fust may have taken advantage of the ignorance of some people of the discovery of printing, and have sold his Bible as a manuscript. The small and elegant gothic type, with which this Bible is printed, resembles very much the character used in writing, and may probably have given rise to the idea of their being manuscripts.

"The subscription, (printed in red) at the end of the Apocalypse in the present copy (his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex's) is as given above.

"In Earl Spencer's copy the subscription is thus :

"Presens hoc opusculum Artificiosa adinventione imprimendi seu caracterizandi absque calami exaratione, in civitate Moguntina sic effigiatum & ad eusebiam dei industrie per Johannem fust civem et Petrum Schoiffer de gernsheym clericum diocesis eiusdem est consumatum, Anno dni M.CCCC.LXII. In vigilia assumptionis virginis Marie."

"Then the two shields as in the former copy. In some copies, Maittaire has observed the word *opus*, substituted for opusculum.

"In Lord Spencer's copy, at the end of the first volume concluding with the Psalter, is an imprint of the date (1462) and the device of the printers in red, *which are not in His Royal Highness's copy.*"

This interesting information made me desirous to examine the last mentioned copy : and as I was aware that it is among the first wishes of His Royal Highness, that his fine library should be made as available as possible to objects of research, I repaired to Kensington, where I found, upon examination, that the inscription *printed in red at the end of the second volume*, (for, as Mr. Pettigrew has said, this copy has no date or mark of the printers at the end of the first volume) *is not in register with the column of text above it* ; the two edges of the type, in the colophon, instead of ranging exactly with the edges of the column of text above, (as would be the case if the text and the colophon had been both printed from type standing in the press at the same time) being nearly a quarter of an inch too much to the right ; and moreover that *the red ink, with which the colophon is printed, is rather darker and of a less orange hue than that used for the concluding line* : "*Explicit liber apocalips,*" &c. *of the column of text above it.* All which, I think, shews that the colophon was not printed at the same time as the rest of the page.

Again ; in the copy on paper, in the Royal Library at the British Museum, the first

Bibles, some bibliographers are still of opinion that this, bearing the date of 1462, is in reality the *first*. Of course, at so early a period of the art, a work of such magnitude must have been several years in hand.

Upon comparing it with the ‘Rationale of Durandus,’ of 1459, I discovered that, though the body of that work is printed in a much smaller character, the Colophon of ten lines, printed in red at the end of the volume, and containing the date in words at length, is printed with the same identical type as this Bible. The same type, I also find to have been used by Schoeffer in two editions of 1476 and 1478, (and I doubt not in that of 1474, which I have not seen) of Turrecremata’s annotations on the Psalms.

“But,” continues Santander, “whatever be the truth of the anecdote, it appears from the testimony of the Cologne Chronicle, printed by Joh. Koelhoff in 1499, that the printing of this (the) bible” [he is speaking of the Bible No. 258, commonly called the Mazarine Bible, which he insists on having been the first] “was begun in the year 1450 :”

“*Anno autem domini*, 1450, (says this German Chronicle, according to the

volume, ending with the Psalms, has neither the arms of Fust and Schoeffer, nor any date or inscription whatever ; but at the end of the *second* volume we have the same inscription as in Lord Spencer’s copy, together with the arms of the printers.

To this let me add, that a very recent writer, *Tommaso Tonelli*, ‘Cenni Istorici sull’ origine della Stampa,’ 8vo.; speaking, at page 55, of this Bible of 1462, has the following note :

“The greater part of this article was already printed, when, having the opportunity of examining two copies of this Bible which are in the Magliabechi Collection, I discovered, that, in the copy on vellum, the subscription of Fust and Schoeffer wants the phrase, “*artificiosa adinventione imprimendi seu caracterizandi absque calami exaratione*,” which is found in the copy on paper. I however observed, that, *in the copy on paper, this inscription had been added afterwards by pasting*, whilst in the vellum copy the leaf is in its original state. This circumstance renders it very possible, that a number of copies of this Bible may have been sold for manuscripts, according to the story told by Fournier. It is not impossible that Fust, after having been prosecuted for sorcery or fraud, may have been constrained to put the above declaration in the subscription, (by command, of Lewis XI.) in order that future purchasers of the book might not be deceived.”



translation of Meerman) *qui jubilæus erat, coeptum est imprimi, primusque liber qui excuderetur Biblia fuere latina, impressaque ea sunt scriptura grandiori, quali nunc Missalia ('Mysseboicher') solent imprimi*<sup>23</sup> . . . . . *Initium et progressum hujus artis narravit mihi honorabilis magister Ulricus Zell de Hanâu, impressor Colonice hoc ipso adhuc tempora A. 1499, cujus beneficio ars hæc delata est.*" This testimony of Zell is the more worthy of remark, as this printer had himself learned the art of typography at Mentz, as is proved by the characters which he used, which appear to have been formed upon the model of those of Schoeffer.

"These circumstances have heretofore given rise to various literary discussions, as to the first impression of the Latin Bible executed at Mentz; which have been carried so far, that the discovery of any Bible whatever, without date, has at once furnished the subject for a polemical dissertation, wherein the new Bible has been made to figure as the first production of the art of printing.

"There is however," he goes on to say, "great difference to be made between these various ancient Bibles without date; and we speak, in this article, of that one which is considered by the best bibliographers to be the real edition printed at Mentz by J. Gutenberg, before his separation from Fust. This Bible is printed in two columns of forty-two lines each in a full page, except the first ten or eleven pages, which have but forty or forty-one, and in Gothic characters nearly two lines in height, and without cyphers, signatures, or catchwords: the height of the columns is ten inches and eight lines, and the width of the two columns together, including the white space that separates them, is seven inches and four lines, French measure. The entire work, which is divided into two, three, or four volumes, according to the taste of the possessors, contains 637 leaves.

"The copy of this Bible, printed on paper, and bound in two volumes, which is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, has furnished very interesting information to bibliographers: the subscriptions which are found therein, written at the time by the illuminator, prove that it is the true edition, printed at Mentz by Gutenberg, commenced in 1450 and finished in 1455. That at the end of the first volume is as follows:

<sup>23</sup> It may, I think, be doubted, whether Koelhoff, the printer, here means to speak of the Missals, or prayer-books, used by the people; or of the larger volumes, which were used in the churches by the officiating clergy: I say this, because, perhaps, more has been made of the above expression, '*scriptura grandiori*,' &c. than the writer intended.

*‘ Et sic est finis prime partis biblie Scz. veteris testamenti, Illuminata seu rubricata & ligata per Henricum Albch alias cremer. Anno dni. M<sup>o</sup>.cccc<sup>o</sup>.LVI. festo Bartholomei apli—Deo gratias-Alleluja.’*

“ At the end of the second, we read :

*‘ Iste liber illuminatus, ligatus & completus est per Henricum Cremer vicariū ecclesie collegiate sancti Stephani maguntini sub anno dni Millesimo quatringsimo quinquagesimo sexto, festo Assumptionis gloriose virginis Marie, Deo gracias. Alleluja, &c.’ ”*

But the genuineness of these subscriptions is much to be doubted : Lambinet did not believe in them, (see Classical Journal No. VIII. p. 471, et seq.) and *Née de la Rochelle*, at page 119 of his ‘ *Eloge Historique de Jean Gensfleisch dit Guttenberg*,’ has the following note upon the subject of them : “ It is even said that there exists a copy of this Bible which has a manuscript note stating that, that copy was *illuminated and bound in 1456*; I take this from Daunou, p. 22. But *notes of this kind have been sometimes added by skilful forgers, and are not always to be depended on.*” This observation, the reader will observe, comes from a professed eulogist of Gutenberg.

“ The discovery,” continues Santander, “ which has lately been made of certain fragments of a Donatus, printed with the same characters as had served for printing this Bible, and bearing at the end this inscription : ‘ *Explicit donatus, arte nova imprimendi seu caracterizandi, per Petrum de gernszheym in urbe moguntina Cū suis Capitalibus absq; calami exaratione effigiatus :*’ has caused some literary men to believe, that the Bible of which we are speaking was printed by Schoeffer himself : but I think, on the contrary, that the discovery of this Donatus, very far from throwing doubt on what we have said, is an additional proof, nay perhaps the only one that was wanting, to demonstrate the truth of our assertion : for this Donatus having been printed, as is seen from the subscription, in the city of Mentz, we are now fully assured that the Bible in question, which is printed with the same characters, was likewise printed in that city : *this is precisely the only proof that was wanting to make us quite certain that the Latin Bible, of which we here speak, is that which was printed by the celebrated Gutenberg, before his separation from Fust.* In effect, we learn from the subscriptions, above given, that the copy of this Bible, which is at present in the Imperial Library at Paris, was completed as to the colouring,



illuminating and binding, in the month of August 1456 : it is therefore evident that it must, at the latest, have been printed towards the close of the preceding year 1455 : now, the separation of Gutenberg and Fust not having taken place, except in virtue of the judicial act of the 6th of November 1455, it *clearly results that the impression of the said Bible can have been the work of Gutenberg only ;* AS IT WAS NOT UNTIL AFTER THAT EPOCH THAT THE CELEBRATED SCHOEFFER BEGAN TO WORK WITH FUST AT THE ART OF PRINTING. The entire printing apparatus of Gutenberg having fallen into the possession of Fust, in consequence of the above act of the 6th of November, 1455, it is not surprising that Schoeffer, his son in law, should afterwards have employed the characters of Gutenberg for the edition of the *Donatus* above mentioned. It follows from this, that when Fischer attributed the above *Donatus*, of which he had only seen one fragment without any subscription, to J. Gutenberg, he was not far from the truth : it may be said that he committed an error, but was not mistaken ; for although it was printed by Schoeffer, it was printed by him with the characters which Gutenberg had been obliged to abandon to Fust, together with all his other printing apparatus, in consequence of the judicial act of the 6th of November 1455."

What Santander says in the above passage, of *Schoeffer's subscription to the Donatus, being precisely THE ONLY PROOF THAT WAS WANTING, TO MAKE US QUITE CERTAIN THAT THE BIBLE IN QUESTION WAS PRINTED BY GUTENBERG*, is truly astonishing. What! would not the *proof* that Gutenberg printed the said Bible be *more certain and victorious*, if the said *Donatus* chanced to bear in the Colophon *the name of Gutenberg himself, instead of that of Schoeffer?* surely *the name of Schoeffer being to the Donatus*, it becomes more than probable *that the Bible was printed by him* also. As to Santander's assertion, that *Schoeffer did not begin to work with Fust at the art of printing, until after the separation of Fust and Gutenberg* upon the occasion of the above process, besides that it is unsupported by evidence, the supposition appears to me utterly repugnant to reason ; and at variance with the few facts we can rely on in the early history of the art at Mentz.

But there is another circumstance, which is, I believe, of itself enough to *prove that the Mazarine Bible cannot be the first ;* and

that the manuscript memoranda of the pretended bookbinder and illuminist Cremer, which are found in a copy of this Bible in the 'Bibliothèque du Roy' at Paris, are FORGERIES; namely, that the *right-hand margins of the columns of text, in that Bible, are exceedingly even and well in register*; which is not the case in the two editions of the *Psalter* of 1457 and 1459, the *Durandus* of 1459, the *Catholicon* of 1460, the *Bible* of 1462, or indeed in any other very early printed book that I can mention. The first printers thought only of making their printed volumes look like finely written manuscripts. *Perfect evenness*, in the right-hand edges of the text, could never be obtained in MSS. for obvious reasons; and the best calligraphists never thought of attempting it: for though, before a manuscript was written, lines, marking the intended boundaries of the columns on both sides, were drawn with a point, nevertheless it inevitably happened, that the last word, in one line, would finish a little within the said boundary line, and that, in another, it would extend a little beyond it. The *form* or *frame*, in which, from the first, the printers necessarily arranged their type, had a natural tendency more and more to correct this zigzag unevenness in the right hand edges of the columns or pages; by degrees this unevenness began to be considered as a defect, and, in the course of time, it was found that *it might be done away with completely, in printing*, (as is used now) by means of small blank pieces of metal, inserted here and there between the words, in addition to those which had been originally introduced for the simple purpose of separating the words from each other. I find that practical men, agree with me as to the truth of this observation; and, to adopt for once Santander's favorite expression, I think it 'proves victoriously,' that the Mazarine Bible was printed after the Bible of 1462;<sup>24</sup> and, probably, not until after the death of Fust.

<sup>24</sup> As this point is one of great importance, I think it well here to extract, from my Common-place Book, a few remarks lately made by me on examining some of the earliest printed books in the Royal Library at the British Museum.

*The Mazarine Bible*, 2 vol. fol.; in double columns. In the beginning, now and then, I find a column of text, not *quite* so even at the outside edge, as afterwards; though *all are almost as even as possible*.



I am heartily tired of the task of exposing the sophisms and unwarrantable statements of this learned but not very honest writer. Whoever is desirous of having a fair idea of what may properly be called the evidence which we possess respecting the invention of typography, must not too implicitly trust Santander; as, to serve the present turn, and bolster up his particular opinions, he seldom scruples to omit whatever would make against his system, or to exaggerate and give a forced interpretation, to what he thinks in its favour. Thus, in quoting the testimony of Ulric Zell, in the Cologne Chronicle, we have just seen that he omits, and is quite silent upon,

*Albert Phister's Bible*, 2 vol. fol.; very large black-letter type, in double columns. The right-hand edges of the columns are, here and there, very uneven, especially in the first pages; though there is a good deal of this every where.

*Bible*, by *Fust and Schoeffer*, 1462, 2 vol. fol.; in double columns. The right-hand margins are uneven, and sometimes very much so, especially in the early pages: as the work goes on, this is in some degree corrected.

*The Catholicon*, of 1460, fol.; in double columns. The right-hand edges of the columns are uneven throughout.

*S. Thomæ Aquin.* Part I. first Edition, fol.; in two columns, no date; Fust's type, as I suppose. The right-hand margins are somewhat uneven at the beginning of the book, and afterwards less so, if at all.

*S. Thomæ Aquin.* Part II. fol.; in double columns, smaller type. The right-hand edges of the columns are always uneven. The colophon is printed in the same type, in black, with the name of *Pet. Schoiffer*, and the date *M.CCCC.lxvij*.

*S. Thomæ Aquin.* 'Opus quarti Scripti,' fol.; in two columns, same type, and same defect. The colophon, printed in red, with larger type, was perhaps added afterwards. It has the name of *P. Schoiffer* 'millesimo quadringentesimo Sexagesimo nono.'

*Lactantius*, small fol. 1465; *Subiaco*. One wide column; the right-hand edges of the type are uneven.

*S. Hyeronimi Epistolæ*, 2 vol. fol.; *Romæ*, 1468. One wide column; the right-hand edges of the text are uneven in both the volumes.

*S. Augustinus de Civitate Dei*, fol.; *Romæ*, 1470. One wide column; same type as the last (without dots to the i) by *Suueynheym and Panaratz*, (sic.) The right-hand margins of the text uneven, as in the last.

*Pliny*, large fol.; *Rom.* M.CCCC.LXX. by the same; one wide column. The right-hand edges of the text very uneven throughout.

*Pliny*, first edition; *Venice*, M.CCCC.LXVIII., by *Jo. de Spira*; one wide column, small roman type. The right-hand margins of the text, *more or less uneven for more than the first half of the work; but quite even in the latter pages*: whence it seems that,

what is said in it of the *Donatuses* of Holland ; and, in like manner, when, in one of the few remaining pages of his dissertation, (upon the contents of which I think it unnecessary to remark) he has occasion to cite the very interesting account of the invention and establishment of printing at Mentz, inserted in the ‘*Annales Hirsaugienses*,’ (see Chap. IV.) and which was written by the respectable Trithemius upon the authority of Schoeffer himself, he studiously leaves out the beginning of the narrative ; evidently, because it states, that *the first book, printed by Gutenberg and Fust, was printed from engraved wooden blocks, and that the idea of separate characters did not occur to them till afterwards* ; and he thought the circumstance likely to throw discredit upon the depositions of the Strasburg process ; which he had before introduced, in proof that Gutenberg had attempted to print with moveable characters, at Strasburg, as early as 1436 or 1438.

whilst printing this work, the idea of keeping the outer margins of his text *perfectly* even, like the inner margins, first occurred to the printer.

*D. Cypriani Epistolæ*, small fol. ; one wide column, same type, by *Vind. de Spira*, Venice, 1471. The right-hand margins as even as they well can be.

*Pliny*, large fol. ; Venice, 1472, by *Nic. Jenson*, small roman type, one wide column. The outer margins perfectly well in register.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE SYSTEM OF KONING.

ABOUT the year 1814, I believe, the Dutch Society of Arts and Sciences at Haerlem, made known its intention to give a premium for the best Dissertation which should be written, against a certain time, in support of the ancient tradition that the Art of Printing was invented in that city; and Mr. Jacques Koning of Amsterdam produced, in consequence, a considerable work upon the subject, which was approved by the said Society, in the month of May, 1816. It was then resolved to give the arguments of Mr. Koning every publicity, by means of the press : for this purpose a Committee of Superintendence was appointed; and as the original work was written in Dutch, it was thought expedient by them that a second edition of it, somewhat abridged in the least important chapters, should be printed in the French language; which was published at Amsterdam, in 1819.<sup>25</sup> In an Address to the Reader, prefixed to the Book, the Secretary of this Committee assures us, that the translation had been approved and sanctioned by the original author; and then follows a short preface by the translator, which ends thus :

“ The author declares in his preface, that he did not apply himself to the researches necessary to clear up the matter in dispute, and which is enveloped in so much obscurity, without first having informed himself of the processes used in casting type, and of the mechanism of printing, generally; the want

<sup>25</sup> ‘Dissertation sur l’Origine, l’Invention et le Perfectionnement de l’Imprimerie; par *Jacques Koning*, &c. Couronnée par la Société Hollandoise des Sciences à Haerlem, au Mois de Mai 1816. Traduite du Hollandois. Amsterdam, 1819.’ 8vo. A copy of this book was obligingly transmitted to me by the author, in 1823; and some years afterwards, visiting Holland, I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance.

of which knowledge, in most of the writers upon this controversy, has given occasion to numerous contradictions and absurdities, which have more and more confused it. His scrutinizing eye, thus guided by experience, has examined the pieces themselves, with the most scrupulous exactness, and has left him thoroughly convinced that the honour of the invention belongs really to Haerlem.

“ Lastly, although the Author is prepared to have difficulties started, and objections raised, against this or that particular part of his dissertation, he does not think it possible, that the defenders of the pretensions of Mentz should succeed in successfully combating his system generally, as it is presented in the *conclusion* of his work, so as to lead an impartial judge to embrace the opposite opinion.”

Then follows a list of the Chapters :

- Chap. I. “ The ‘ SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS,’ printed by *Laurent Janssoen Coster*, is the FIRST BOOK printed with moveable cast type.
- II. “ A comparison of the *language* and *orthography* of the three printed editions of the Dutch *Speculum*, [namely, the two ancient editions in fol. and the edition in 4to. by *Veldener*,] and of a manuscript of the year 1464.
- III. “ On the *papermarks* found in the *Speculum*, and in other ancient works.
- IV. “ An examination of the works printed at Haerlem by *Laurent Janssoen Coster*.
- V. “ Concerning *Laurent Janssoen Coster*.
- VI. “ Ancient *portraits*, engraved in wood, of *Laurent Janssoen*, *Albert van Ourwater*, *Jan van Hemsén*, *Jan Mandin*, and *Volkert the son of Nicolas*.
- VII. “ Inquiry, whether or not the descendants of *Laurent Janssoen* continued to practice the art of printing.
- VIII. “ On the robbery, committed upon *Laurent Janssoen Coster*.
- IX. “ The improvement and perfecting of the art of Printing at Mentz.
- X. “ On the *Law-Process* between *Joh. Gutenberg* and *George and Nicolas Dritzehen*, at Strasburg, 1439.
- XI. “ Testimonies of *foreign writers*, in favour of Haerlem.
- XII. “ The Cologne Chronicle, Anno 1499.
- XIII. “ The *Bible* in Latin printed at *Mentz*, between 1450 and 1455.



- XIV. "The testimonies of *Jan Van Zuyren*, and of *Theodore Volkert Coornhert*.
- XV. "The narrative of *Hadrian Junius*.
- XVI. "On a passage in *Carl van Mander*; and on the silence of the writers of Chronicles concerning the invention of *Coster*.
- XVII. "Examinations of the objections: that no book exists, containing any indication that it was printed by *Coster* or his descendants; and that neither *Coster* nor his descendants ever vindicated their pretensions against those of *Mentz*.
- XVIII. "Researches concerning the Antiquity of the *Speculum*, and by whom, according to *Heinecken* and *Santander*, it must have been printed.
- XIX. "Inquiry, whether or not the most ancient *Block-books* were originally printed in Germany.
- XX. "Contradictions, in the recitals of the writers in favour of *Mentz* and *Strasburg*.
- XXI. "On the *Company of Printers &c.* at *Antwerp*, in 1440: *Louis van Vaelbeke*, *Jan Brit* or *Briton*; and of a Print of *St. Christopher*.

"THE CONCLUSION.

"*Supplement.*"

The title of Koning's *first Chapter* promises much. He therein undertakes to prove, that one of the editions of the '*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*,' was the *first book* that was ever printed with moveable cast type: this done, it would only be necessary to shew, also, that it was printed in Haerlem; in order to annihilate the pretensions of *Mentz*, and effectually to establish those of Holland. Were he indeed able to prove the first proposition, the cause he advocates would be as good as gained; since, although *Heinecken* and *Santander*, as we have seen, insisted that the first edition of the *Speculum* was printed in Germany; the most experienced bibliographers of the present day, (I speak of those who decidedly advocate the cause of *Mentz*,<sup>26</sup>) admit that there is no doubt it was printed in Holland.

<sup>26</sup> *Mr. Renouard* declares this, in his spiritedly written article, in refutation of the pretensions of *Laurent Coster*, introduced by him in the '*Catalogue of his Library*.'

The edition, upon the antiquity of which, our Author here insists, has the text printed in the Dutch language; and is the same of which two copies are preserved in the 'Hotel de Ville' at Haerlem. Mr. Koning was persuaded, like Meerman, by the rudeness of its execution, that this edition was one of the first essays of Coster; and he goes, at great length, into what he considers as the causes of its imperfections; insisting, under separate heads, upon the rude construction of the different instruments first invented by the proto-typographer, and employed by him in printing it. But, unfortunately for his system, this edition of the *Speculum*, as I have before observed in speaking of the system of Meerman, happens to be the *fourth* and *not the first* edition of the book, as will hereafter be proved by incontrovertible evidence; and, consequently, Mr. Koning's curious reasonings (founded upon his careful examination of it) concerning the imperfect mode which he supposes Coster to have used in casting the type employed in it, and the rude construction of his press and other apparatus, &c. must lose somewhat of their interest.

After having observed, that Meerman was wrong in supposing the characters to have been carved on separate pieces of wood, he proves, very satisfactorily, that they were cast metal type; and he endeavours to account for their imperfections and inequalities, by supposing, that, although much the same method was used in casting them as is employed in the present day, the punches, on which the original letters were sculptured, were of wood, and the matrixes of lead. The press, he thinks, was of a very simple construction, and incapable of affording that even pressure which is necessary to good printing. The form or frame, in which the pages of type were fixed, previously to their being impressed, were thick planks of oak, with holes cut in them of the size proper to receive them. He observes that the cuts were printed separately from the pages of text, but he omits to mention the fact that they were taken off in a different coloured ink by friction. Lastly, he observes, that the circumstance, of the different editions of the '*Speculum*' being printed only on one side the paper, is neither to be attributed to the ignorance or sim-



plicity of the printer, nor to the quality of the paper, which is sufficiently good ; but that the adoption of this mode was rendered necessary from the too great pressure used in printing the text, which sometimes forced the letters through the paper, or so nearly so as to cause the ink to shew itself on the other side, &c.

The above observations form the subject matter of eleven sections, into which this important chapter is divided ; the last of them concluding with the following summing-up, and eulogium upon Coster.

“ If, after what has been shewn,” says Koning, “ it be now considered, that the printer of the *Speculum*, in order to produce it, required the complete apparatus of punches, matrixes, moulds, metal, forms or frames of wood (to contain the pages), presses, ink, dabbers, &c. &c. ; that the fabrication, the preparation and manipulation of all these instruments, were the fruits of his invention ; that in his early attempts, his first essays, many of his operations must have failed, and consequently have been recommenced, perhaps, again and again ; we may then form an idea of the continual exertion of intellect, the extreme patience, the activity and indefatigable labour, the enormous expence, and the great length of time that he must have employed, in order to succeed in his enterprize. We ought also to consider, by what slow degrees the necessary apparatus must have been perfected, before the *first Dutch Speculum* could be printed ; and, besides, what was required for the *second Dutch Speculum* and the two *Latin editions*, (all the three printed with new and improved type) before they could be published.

“ What praises can be too great for such a man ? And yet it must be admitted, that he was far from having carried the art of printing to perfection. Our particular observations, upon the construction of the instruments which he used, have too clearly proved to us their imperfections, to leave him any title to such an honour. Indeed, he himself appears to have been aware of this ; and to have seen too clearly how defective his art was, to permit himself to give it to the world as an invention entirely perfected ; and this, perhaps, was the chief reason why he omitted to affix his name to any one of the works which were printed by him.

“ But, it is,” we think, “ these very defects and imperfections, which must convince every impartial person, that the *Speculum* is one of the first productions of the art of Printing with cast type. The multitude of errors of the press which we observe in the *first Dutch Speculum*, and which are not found in such

great number in any other book, prove that it is one of the most ancient. It may readily be conceived, from what we have said of the defective apparatus used in printing it, how difficult it must have been for the printer, after he had arranged the two columns of a page in the form, to take out erroneous letters and replace them by others . . . . . Enschedé used, agreeably, to term these errors of the press, ‘*the pearls in the crown of Laurent Coster.*’ This work is not the performance of one who had served an apprenticeship and learned the art of printing at Mentz; and still less is it the work of a miserable blunderer. The indentation which we perceive in parts not printed with ink, occasioned by type used to fill up those blank spaces,” (instead of the plain pieces of metal which it has always been customary to employ for that purpose) “the marks occasioned by the wood surrounding the columns, and indeed the execution of the whole, so clearly shew the contrary that no one, we think, can require us to produce other proofs. Let any one examine the *first printed works of Ulrich Zell*, and of the other pupils of *Gutenberg, Fust* and *Schoeffer*; who upon the occasion of the siege and capture of Mentz, in 1462, quitted the printing establishment of this typographical triumvirate, and dispersed themselves over Europe. At first sight, the extreme difference that exists between *them* and the *Speculum*, will be observed, and he will every where see the proofs of the improvements imagined at Mentz, in the punches, the matrixes, the moulds, the metal,” (of which the type was made) “the press, &c. &c.; improvements of the highest importance, as by them the art was brought to that degree of perfection in which we have it at present; improvements, in fine, which ought to determine us, and indeed every one, not to undervalue or depreciate the merit of the Mentz printers, and especially that of the talented Schoeffer, but to esteem it as it justly deserves.

“Nevertheless, however defective and imperfect the *Speculum* may be, the printer of it first opened the road to the practice and perfecting of typography, and trod the first steps by which others might be guided to the attainment of the desired end. He executed the most difficult part of the task, in first projecting this unknown art and first establishing it; whilst the easier part, the searching out and correcting imperfections, remained to be performed by others. This being admitted, as it will be by every impartial reader, the just tribute of praise and gratitude will be willingly paid to the memory of a man, whose active spirit invented and laid the foundations of this divine art, in spite of numerous and apparently insurmountable difficulties. As for us, we cannot be sufficiently grateful to Providence, for having



deigned to confer upon our country the honour of an invention, at once so noble and so useful ; nor shall we shrink from the task of defending her title to the glory of this discovery, against all the attacks of strangers."

I have nothing to observe upon all this, except, that it would be exceeding applicable, if Mr. Koning had been enabled to preface it by good *proofs*, that the Dutch edition of the *Speculum* of which he speaks, is really the very ancient book he supposes.

The *Second Chapter* is intended further to prove the antiquity of the above Dutch edition of the *Speculum*, by a comparison of its orthography with that of the other Dutch edition in folio, (which Koning thought printed many years after it,) as also of a manuscript of the year 1464, and the 4to. edition, printed by Veldener, in 1483.

"It appears," says Koning, "that the two folio editions, without date, are less accurate in their orthography, than the two last-mentioned ; and that therefore they ought to be considered as more ancient. We have been, from the first, convinced that the *dialect* in all these editions is that which was spoken in those times in Holland and at Utrecht ; and that consequently it is the real *Dutch dialect*. But we have been unwilling to rely upon our own judgment in this matter ; and have therefore consulted the Professor *Ypey*, of Groningen, so well known by his valuable work on the History of the Dutch language, and this learned man affirms positively : 1st. That the *first* edition [that is the edition of which he has been speaking] is really the most ancient, according to inductions drawn from the orthography ; that the second folio edition is the next ancient ; and that the edition of Veldener, is the most correct, and consequently appears to be the last. 2dly. That the three printed editions and the manuscript, are not in the Flemish or Belgic language, but in pure Batavian or Dutch ; such as was spoken in Holland in the fifteenth century.

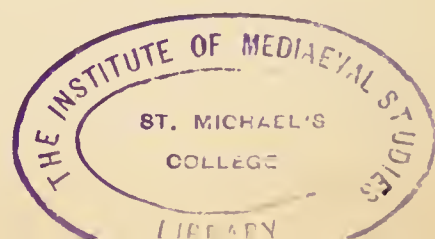
"The country, therefore, in which the first two editions were printed, is sufficiently proved by the language. . . . And if it be borne in mind, that every improvement, however small, in the language and orthography of a country, requires a long time, it will be perceived that both those editions must be more ancient than the manuscript of 1464 ; and, indeed, that, between the printing of those two editions and the writing of that manuscript, a very considerable number of years must have intervened ; which brings us natu-

rally to the time of Coster, who died before the year 1440 or 1441, and proves, at the same time, that the first two editions of the Dutch Speculum are really of the age we suppose them."

I need offer no remark on this Chapter: except to repeat, that the edition of the *Speculum*, which Koning, and Meerman before him, considered the *first*, is *certainly not so*: and to express my regret that Professor Ypey, upon this occasion, should have been led to pronounce a judgment, which is of a nature to render questionable the value of the studies to which it appears he has applied himself; and which I am satisfied are, in the main, of great use, in helping us to discover the ages of writings generally. Perhaps I may be justified in adding, that the mere abundance of *inaccuracies* of orthography, in Koning's supposed first Dutch Speculum, ought not to have been so readily admitted by Ypey as evidences of its antiquity; since it is quite as reasonable to ascribe errors of this kind to the printer's deficiency in education, and to his carelessness.

In the *Third Chapter* Mr. Koning treats of the *paper-marks* found in the different editions of the *Speculum*, and more especially of the *marks* on the paper of the edition which he considers the most ancient. When first I read this chapter, it appeared to me at once novel and interesting. But I had, long before, fully satisfied myself that the said Dutch edition is not the earliest; and I therefore felt that Mr. Koning's reasonings, upon the relative antiquity of these paper-marks, were subject to doubt, or rather that some of them must necessarily be inaccurate. A strong desire arose in my mind to examine, for myself, into this kind of evidence, with a view to assist me, as far as possible, in ascertaining the real ages of that and the three other ancient editions, as well as of the other *Block-books*; and I afterwards, in consequence, employed five months in Holland in this way, principally in the extensive archives at the Hague; to which, from the laudable wish of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands to encourage all useful researches, I was permitted free access.

In addition to this, Mr. Koning, during my stay in Holland, obligingly entrusted me with the numerous tracings, which he had made of the





paper-marks found by him in the public registers of the fifteenth century at Haerlem ; with leave to copy them, of which I availed myself. The results of my own researches in this way will be stated hereafter ; meanwhile, our concern is with the observations of Mr. Koning, which are accompanied by two plates ; the first, containing the tracings of eleven, and the second, of thirteen paper-marks, to which, however, he has omitted to put distinguishing numbers.

After mentioning the opinion of Santander, (in the ‘Supplement to the Catalogue of his Library,’) that the paper-marks in a book will often assist us in determining the country where it was printed, Mr. Koning writes as follows :

“ For this reason, I have carefully drawn the marks on the paper found in the different editions of the *Speculum*, or in the ancient books of accounts of the treasury of Haerlem. Since these were drawn, I have discovered, not only that the same paper-marks present themselves in the registers and other documents of this time, which are preserved at the Hague ; but I have even succeeded in finding the *Initials* or *the Arms*, of all the Princes of the house of Burgundy, from Philip the Bold<sup>27</sup> to Philip II. king of Spain, upon the paper used in Holland ; which I have communicated to my compatriots in a supplement. From these marks, and the comparisons which I have made, I have been confirmed in the opinion, that these ancient editions were printed in Holland—nay, positively printed at Haerlem.

“ It has appeared to me, that, in all the different editions of the *Speculum*, the paper is of the same quality. I have sought to discover, from whence the paper, which was used here towards the middle of the fifteenth century, was brought, (for at that time no paper-mills existed in Holland) ; and I have found, by the ancient books of accounts of 1420 and 1441, of the treasury of Haerlem, that, in those times, the paper used in that city was all purchased at Antwerp. It further appears certain, that this was the case with the paper that was employed in the registers and books of accounts of the Counts of Holland, at the Hague, from the year 1352, at least, if not earlier ; so that we may confidently come to the conclusion, that in those times no other paper was used at Haerlem, except that of the Brabant ; a conclusion, indeed, which

<sup>27</sup> The supposed *initial* of *Philip the Bold*, is very doubtful. I have reason to believe that the paper, on which it is found, was made in Italy.

is further strengthened by the circumstance that several of these paper-marks are only suitable to that country."

Now, though all this sounds very plausible, I am obliged to say that it is not entirely to be depended upon: not that I entertain any doubt, that the four ancient editions of the *Speculum* were all printed in Holland. Mr. Koning proceeds:

"We find, then, in the *first Dutch* edition of the *Speculum*, a *Bull's-head*, with an upright line rising from between the horns, terminated by a cross or star and, halfway up it, an escutcheon,—A *Fleur-de-Lis*,—[Mr. Koning ought to have said an *Anchor*, but he was thinking, I suppose, of 'the arms of Burgundy']—an *Unicorn*,—*Two Keys*, side by side,—a *Hand*,—a *St. Catherine's-wheel*,—a *Circle with certain Letters*, and the same escutcheon as accompanies the above bull's-head."

I shall omit what Mr. Koning says of the paper-marks of the three other editions, which will be all accurately described hereafter; and shall at once pass to his observations on the *Escutcheon*, above noticed, which has the *arms of Bavaria*, and upon which he hypothetically argues as follows:

"The *Arms*, underneath the circle, (last mentioned) within which are the letters *M. A.*, are those of *Bavaria*. It was customary, in the fifteenth century, to put the arms of the sovereign upon the paper that was made.<sup>28</sup> We find, on the paper of the first Dutch *Speculum*, the arms of *Bavaria*, in two different paper-marks; and we thence conclude, that *this paper was manufactured during the reign of the Countess Jacqueline* in Brabant and Hainault, after her marriage with the Dauphin, and before the treaty of transfer made to Philip of Burgundy, in 1433, &c. . . . The letters *M. A.*, in the above circle, joined to the arms of *Bavaria*, in the first Dutch edition, signify *without doubt, Margaret*, widow of *William IV.* Count of Holland, and the mother of *Jacqueline*, &c. &c. [This, 'without doubt,' is a little too much like Santander.]

"The gothic letter *P*," he goes on to say, "is not found in the first Dutch edition; but it is in the second Dutch, and in the second Latin, &c. The accounts of the treasury of Haerlem, of the middle of the fifteenth century,

<sup>28</sup> This, I should say, was not often done till the latter part of the XVth Century; but afterwards, the usage became more common.



have this mark ; the author has lately found it in a memorandum of accounts of the year 1432, but not earlier. Further, a large proportion of the books printed in Holland, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, have this paper-mark ; *which will never be found in any book, nor in any paper coming from Germany or from Italy.*"

This last assertion, like some others in the present Chapter, is far to bold. In a small quarto of 102 leaves, by Zell, now before me, printed I suppose, between 1462 and 1470 ; viz. ' Tractatus Johannis de Nider, de Morali Lepra ;' this mark, the *Gothic P*, surmounted by a *flower of four leaves*, (as it most commonly appears in the above two editions of the *Speculum*,) occurs no less than twelve times. I find it also, once, in the ' Bulla retractationum' (of Pope Pius II.) An. 1463, et ' De Curialium Miseria,' by Zell ; which was probably printed by him immediately upon the Bull being received at Cologne. In the ' Epistole Eusebii ad Damasum, Augustini ad Cyrillum,' &c. another of Zell's small quartos, this mark occurs on three sheets out of four ; and this and some of Zell's other books have also the ' *two Keys*,' which Koning says, he never found in any book coming from Mentz, as also ' the *Unicorn*.' In the ' Summa Collationum,' another of Zell's small quartos, containing 262 leaves, the above *P* is the constant paper-mark of the first fourteen gatherings, after which we have sometimes the ' *two Keys*,' the *capital Y*, &c. I could mention various other books of Zell, in which this mark appears on the paper ; and, in short, in this instance, Mr. Koning has erred egregiously.

" This paper-mark," (the *P*) he continues, " is never found in books that are anterior to the year 1428. [In Mr. Koning's tracings, I did not find it earlier than 1453. I myself once found it in a book of accounts at the Hague, in company with other paper which I *thought* not to be later than 1438 ; but, in a dated book, I have not found it earlier than 1445.] It is certainly the *initial* of the sovereign *Philip of Burgundy*, who reigned in Brabant from 1430 to 1467, and who was accustomed to put the letter *P* upon all his seals and all his monies. . . . The *letter Y*, (which occurs several times in the second Latin edition of the *Speculum*) is without doubt the initial of *Ysabel of Portugal*, who was married to *Philip le Bon* in 1430."

After a few other remarks, which I pass over, Mr. Koning thus closes this chapter.

“ Although all this is not sufficient to prove the precise years in which the above works were printed,” [for he has been speaking of the other block-books at Haerlem, as well as the *Speculum*] “ nevertheless, *the paper-marks prove that the said works were published between the years 1420 and 1440* : since it appears, from what has been said above, that the *paper* of the first Dutch edition, which is evidently the most ancient, bears, alone, those marks which are the most ancient : that is to say, the *arms of Bavaria*, which were used” [by the paper-makers] “ in the reign of the *Countess Jacqueline*, and consequently before the year 1428 ; and that the *paper* of the second or third edition of the same *Speculum*, bears the letter *P*, the mark of the sovereign *Philip of Burgundy*, which, certainly, was not in usage until the year 1428.”

Now, with respect to *the Gothic letter P*, which was so much used on paper, from the middle of the fifteenth to the early part of the sixteenth century, I shall not take upon me to deny Mr. Koning's assertion, that it is to be considered as *the initial of Philip of Burgundy* ; although, as it appears to have been used in other parts, as well as in his dominions, and continued so long after his death, (as was the *Y*, also, after that of *Ysabel*, the wife of Philip), the fact may be doubted. As to Mr. Koning's hypothesis, concerning the two paper-marks with the *arms of Bavaria*, it is certainly ingenious : and, had he proved that the paper, so marked, was manufactured in the dominions of *Jacqueline*, or of her mother *Margaret*, at the early period he speaks of, I should have thought it so strong a circumstance, in favour of that edition of the *Speculum* in which those paper-marks occur, that I should have felt disposed to carry back the three preceding editions of that work (for it certainly is the fourth) to a very remote period indeed, rather than have denied that it was printed at the early date he has assigned to it. But, *first*, Mr. Koning has brought no evidence to shew that that paper was made in Brabant ; (for the circumstance, supposing it true, that all the paper used in those times, at Haerlem, came from that great commercial



depot, Antwerp, proves nothing, since papers coming from different parts were doubtless sold there;<sup>29</sup>) and, *secondly*, we have no proof that it was made at that early period. Suffice it for me to add, that neither of these paper-marks was to be found among the tracings, made by Mr. Koning from the ancient registers of Haerlem, which, as I have said, he was so good as to lend to me; and that, after a diligent search of several months in the extensive collection of original Books of Accounts, from 1352 to about 1470, in the archives at the Hague, I was unable to discover either of them: though at length I chanced to find them both, in a book in square fol. obligingly lent to me by Mr. *de Jonge*, now the principal archivist at the Hague; viz. the ‘*Fasciculus Temporum*,’ in Dutch, printed at Utrecht, by *Joh. Veldener*, in 1480; though perhaps the paper was not made from the same identical sieves or moulds, as the paper that is found in the *Speculum*.

Mr. Koning’s *Fourth Chapter*, is dedicated to ‘An Examination of the Works printed at Haerlem by *Laurent Janssoen Coster*.’ I shall remark upon it very briefly. He agrees, he says, with writers in general, that the use of playing-cards gave rise to wood-engravings of the ‘Images of Saints;’ adding, in a note, that he possesses several of these ancient wood-cuts, engraved in the Low Countries, and among others, *five little pieces of saints, with Dutch inscriptions*, which he found in a small manuscript Breviary: then came the Block-books, containing figures, with more or less descriptive text, printed from engraved tablets of wood; next occurred the idea of engraving letters on separate pieces of wood; and, lastly, cast metal type was discovered. He then again insists, that these discoveries were by degrees made at Haerlem; referring back, for proofs, to his three first chapters; and he then goes on to describe the Block-books, which he supposes to have been first engraved and printed there; namely, the ‘*HISTORIA SANCTI JOANNIS EVANGELISTE*,

<sup>29</sup> I shall shew, hereafter, that *paper of Lombardy*, is also spoken of in the ancient Books of Accounts at the Hague.

EJUSQUE VISIONES APOCALYPTICÆ;’ the ‘BIBLIA PAUPERUM;’ the ‘ARS MORIENDI;’ the ‘HISTORIA SEU PROVIDENTIA VIRGINIS MARIÆ EX CANTICO CANTICORUM,’ (of all of which I shall speak hereafter) and lastly, the ‘SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS.’ Other Block-books, of a ruder character (p. 59), as the ‘*Ars Memorandi*,’ ‘*Der Endkrist*,’ (or the Book of Antichrist) ‘*Die Kunst-Cyromantia*,’ &c., he is willing to admit originated in Germany; and indeed, several of them have German inscriptions.

He supposes an edition of the *Speculum* to have once existed, more ancient than all those that are now known, with the pages of text all engraved on blocks of wood, in the Latin language.

“Although,” he adds, “we have not hitherto been able to find a complete copy of this edition,—a circumstance no wise surprizing, since so many productions of the infancy of engraving and printing, and even of more modern times, are lost,—still, the *twenty pages engraved in wood*, which are found in the second edition of the Latin *Speculum*, sufficiently prove that such a Xylographic edition once existed.” [I shall hereafter shew that this opinion, which I find has been adopted also by later writers, is erroneous.]

He then speaks of a Xylographic fragment of a *Donatus*, and of a page of an *Horarium*, engraved on wood, which he supposes to have been two of Coster’s first productions; and, afterwards, of the little *book of eight small pages* in the collection of Enschedé, which is engraved in Meerman’s first plate, and contains the letters of the Alphabet, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Apostle’s Creed, &c. which he shews to be printed with moveable characters.

Mr. Koning next treats at length of the different editions of the *Donatus* which are supposed to have been printed by Coster, or his descendants, with moveable type; furnishing very interesting details as to the places where, and the ages of the books in the binding of which, the fragments he enumerates were found; and which I do not speak of more particularly in this place, as I purpose to avail myself of them hereafter, when I come to treat of this part of my subject. Mr. Koning justly insists, that the circumstance of many of these fragments of *Donatuses* being printed with the same type as



the different editions of the *Speculum*, joined to the fact of some of them having been found in the bindings of the old account-books at Haerlem, is strongly corroborative of the traditions concerning early printing in that city.

Our author then speaks, again, of the four ancient editions of the *Speculum*, describing each separately; beginning with his *first Dutch* edition: the next printed was, he thinks, the *first Latin*; after which came that which he considers the *second Dutch* edition; and lastly, the *second Latin*. The two pages, printed with type different from the rest, in the said *second Dutch* edition, and the twenty pages of text printed from engraved blocks, in the *second Latin*, he considers as proofs of the robbery mentioned by Junius, as, indeed, I had myself done in my former work.<sup>30</sup> He considers these two editions to have been printed at the close of Coster's life, and not to have been published until afterwards. Mr. Koning concludes this chapter thus:

“It appears, that this industrious man successively sculptured and cast *four different sorts of type*. With the *first*, he printed the *Horarium*; with the *second*, a *Donatus*; with the *third*, another *Donatus* and the *first Dutch Speculum*; and with the *fourth*, the *three other Donatuses*, as well as the *second Dutch Speculum* and the *two Latin Editions*.

“If, now,” says he, “we suppose a little more than a year to have been employed on each of these seventeen works, [it appears that he has miscounted, and that he ought to have said *ten*] which, one with another, is not too much; and if we subtract this number from the year 1439 or 1440,” [when he supposes Coster to have died] “it will bring us to the year 1420; [he ought to have said 1429 or 1430] as about the time when Coster began to print; which is in accordance with the opinion of some writers, who date the origin of the art of printing in the year 1420 or 1422.”

The *Fifth Chapter* contains such particulars of the life of *Laurent Janssoen Coster*, as Mr. Koning and Meerman, before him, were able to collect. As it is not long, I shall present it to the reader entire, especially, as I am not myself qualified to say any thing on the subject.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving,’ &c. Vol. I. p. 250-253.

“According to the arms of *Laurent Janssoen Coster*, with which, in the capacity of sheriff of the city of Haerlem, in 1422, he sealed a deed of mortgage, it would appear that he was of an illustrious Dutch family. As the arms consist of a Lion-rampant, with a Lambel and a Bar, Meerman conjectures that he was descended from the house of Brederode, whose arms were likewise a Lion-rampant, as being descended directly from the Counts of Holland.”

“It appears, from two letters of reconciliation, dated 1380 and 1408, that his father was *John the son of Laurent*. He bore also the surname of Coster. It is more than probable, that he held the office of church-warden of the great church, which was then considered as one of great dignity, and was not conferred on persons of low origin. These church-wardens had their deputy church-wardens. A certain *Henri van Lunen*, who was appointed to this office in 1396, by the Duke Albert, retired in 1399 with an annual pension. It is probable that *Laurent Janssoen* succeeded him. The original registers of this church having come into the hands of the author, he has found *Laurent Janssoen* inscribed in them, as church-warden, in the years 1421, 1422, 1423, 1425, 1426, 1428, 1431, 1432, and 1433. He has likewise seen that, until the year 1577, the office of church-warden, was filled by four persons at a time.

“He belonged to the richest and most distinguished class of inhabitants of the city of Haerlem. It appears, from the accounts of the Treasury, that in 1422 he paid 25*lb.* impost. In the same year, he was in the enjoyment of a rent-charge upon the city, for which he received 7*lb.* 10*d.* Four years previously, the amount had been 11*lb.* 12*d.* In the year 1417, he was already an officer of the city guard; in the years 1418, 1423, 1429, and 1432, he was a member of the great council; in 1421, 1423, 1428, and 1429, sheriff; in 1431, sheriff-president; and, lastly, in 1421, 1426, 1430 and 1434, he was treasurer of the city. It is supposed that he was born in the year 1370, or 1371.

“After the year 1434, when mention is made of him, as treasurer, in the registers of the treasury, his name no more appears in the annual accounts. In the following year, 1435, an entry of the payment of his rent-charge upon the city, again occurs; but after this nothing more is said of this payment to *Laurent Janssoen*. In the year 1440, however, we find recorded the payment of a rent-charge, to a certain *Ymme*, widow of *Laurent Janssoen*. It is certain that *Laurent Janssoen* married *Catharine*, the daughter of *André*; pos-



sibly, this *Catherine* was also called *Ymme*; or, perhaps, this *Ymme* may have been his second wife: at least, there is no reason to suppose this *Ymme* to have been any other than the widow of our *Laurent Janssoen*. It is on record, that, in the latter part of the year 1439, the city of Haerlem was visited by a contagious malady; and it is probable that our proto-typographer was one of its numerous victims. Besides, *Guicciardini*, referring to memorials which existed in his time, says distinctly, that the inventor was already dead when one of his workmen carried the art to Mentz.

“*Laurent Janssoen* had a daughter named *Lucetta*, who married *Thomas the son of Pieter*: from this marriage were born two daughters, and three sons, named *Pieter*, *André*, and *Thomas*, who, all of them, according to the accounts of the treasury of Haerlem, belonged to the richest and most respectable class of citizens; and, as such, filled important public offices, during many years.

“*Pieter the son of Thomas* had a son, called *Thomas the son of Pieter*, whose son *Gerard* died a little before *Hadrian Junius* wrote his history: and the last of the family of our *Laurent Janssoen* was *William the son of Cornelius Kroon*, who died on the 24th of March in the year 1724.” [See *Meerman's Account of the family and descendants of Laurent Janssoen*, Vol. I. p. 38. seq.]

The *small portraits, engraved on wood, of Laurent Janssoen*, and certain artists of Haerlem of the fifteenth century, make the subject of the *Sixth Chapter*. I have sufficiently spoken of them in Chapter II. of the present work.

In his *Seventh Chapter*, Mr. Koning, gives his reasons for believing, that the printing business was continued by the descendants of Coster, after his death, agreeably to the opinion of Meerman.

“It is not probable,” he observes, “that *Thomas the son of Peter*, after the death of his father-in-law, would abandon an art from the exercise of which, according to Junius, great advantages had been derived.”

He observes, besides, “that some of the first printers (in other parts) were natives of Haerlem; ‘*Nicolas the son of Peter, of Haerlem*,’ printed in 1476, at Padua, and in 1477 at Vicenza; ‘*Henri of Haerlem*,’ printed, from 1482 to 1499, in different cities of Italy; and ‘*Gerard of Haerlem*,’ exercised this art at Florence, in 1498. (See *Santander*, ‘*Dict. Bibl. Tom. I. p. 195, 254, 272, 277, 306, 373, 412, 433, &c.*’) ”

He then describes two volumes in the collection of Mr. Enschedé,

at Haerlem ; which, from the character of the type, and other circumstances, he thinks were printed at Haerlem by the descendants of Coster.

The *Eighth Chapter* treats of the robbery of Coster's printing apparatus, recorded by Junius. Koning begins by observing, truly enough, that there is no part of Junius's account which has given greater offence to the people of Mentz, or been denied more indignantly by the writers who support her claims ; but that the story is supported by too many proofs to be disposed of by a simple negative.

“ There was anciently,” he observes, “ a very general report in Germany, that the first inventor of printing had been robbed by one of his workmen. Two old chronicles of Strasburg state, also, that *Joh. Gensfleisch*, a person whom they distinguish very decidedly from Gutenberg, and who was an assistant of the first printer, carried the art fraudulently to Mentz.<sup>31</sup> They mistake only in supposing the Strasburgher Mentel, to have been this first printer. The Lambeth manuscript says, on the contrary, that the city of Mentz owed the art of printing to the brother of one of the workmen of the printing establishment at Haerlem, from whom he had learned it. The Chronicles mention also a very remarkable circumstance ; namely, that the thief (*Gensfleisch*) was afflicted with blindness, as if Providence had been pleased to punish him for his crime ; though Wimphilingus, a writer of a considerably earlier period,<sup>32</sup> says, that *Joh. Gensfleisch* had become blind from age. This affliction is probably the reason why we find no mention of his co-operation in the printing establishment of Mentz.

“ Nevertheless, for the better proving the truth of this robbery, we will observe :

“ *First.* That others, before Junius, had spoken of the robbery. *Joh. van Zuyren*, *Coornhert*, and *Guicciardini*, assure us positively, the first in the fragment of his treatise on the origin of printing, the second in the dedication to his *Cicero*, of the year 1561, and the third in his history, that the art of printing was carried to Mentz (from Haerlem) by a stranger, an unfaithful workman.

<sup>31</sup> These two Chronicles appear to be of the latter part of the 16th century : extracts from them are given by *Meerman*, vol. II. p. 199-202.

<sup>32</sup> *Wimphilingus* was born in a town of Alsatia, A. 1450, and died in 1528. See *Meerman*, vol. II. p. 138-140.



“ *Secondly.* Junius adds voluntarily, and without necessity, to his account of the robbery, that the person who committed the theft, printed at Mentz, in 1442, the ‘*Alexandri Galli Doctrinale*,’ and the ‘*Petri Hispani Tractatus*,’ with the type which he had stolen. In fact, fragments exist of this grammatical poem of Alex. Gallus at Paris, in the possession of Mr. Renouard; and according to Lambinet (‘*Orig. de l’Impr.* T. 1. p. 116.’) they are printed with characters similar to those of the second edition of the *Speculum*. There exists also another fragment of it in the library of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands at the Hague.

“ *Thirdly.* The last two editions of the *Speculum*, the one in the Dutch language and the other in Latin, bear in themselves the proofs, that, whilst printing these editions, the printer experienced a failure of his moveable types. We find, in the *second* edition of the *Latin Speculum*, twenty pages printed from engraved blocks, and in the *second Dutch*, two pages, which are printed with moveable characters inferior to and different from the rest; and this is the case with all the copies known of that edition. Many persons have erroneously concluded, that the printer of this Latin edition, which they wrongly consider as the first, began to print it from engraved blocks; and that having been informed of the new method of printing with moveable characters, while the work was in hand, he finished it in that manner. This might reasonably be supposed to have been the case, if the *first* twenty leaves of this *Latin Speculum* had been printed from engraved blocks, and the remainder with moveable characters; but it cannot be imagined that the printer would have begun the work, without order, by printing the leaves in the middle of the book, and that he would have left the first leaves to be the last printed.”

Mr. Koning would have been better justified than he is, in the last observation, if the twenty pages of block-printing, in this edition, were not so irregularly scattered through the volume, as to shew, very clearly, that the printer prescribed to himself no regular order whatever, in the commencement and completion of the different gatherings: each sheet of each gathering, was to contain two particular pages, according to a plan first laid down, and it did not therefore signify which was printed first, or which last.

“ The most natural way of accounting for the above appearances,” he continues, “ is by supposing that the printer, while printing this Latin edition, [but he appears to mean, *after* this edition was all printed, but *before its*

*publication,*] found himself suddenly deprived of his type, as well as of some of the printed pages, and was therefore obliged to print those pages over again, by means of engraved blocks; but that he managed to print the two leaves, wanting in the Dutch edition, with moveable type of an inferior quality, which had been before thrown aside, as no longer fit for use. It would be very difficult to explain, how Coster or his heirs should all at once have found themselves deprived of their instruments, if we were not assured that one of the workmen did carry off their type and other printing apparatus. It is not difficult to account for the lost leaves which it became necessary to reprint. This workman, no doubt, when he took the matrixes and the type, carried off, also, such of the printed sheets as came to hand, in order to direct him hereafter in the exercise of the art. After the robbery, Coster, or his heirs, could have had no means of completing these mutilated copies except in the way that has been mentioned."

Mr. Koning's supposition is, that the engraved blocks of the pages of text, which had been originally used for the supposed xylographic edition before-mentioned, (and of which, as he says, no copy now exists), had been preserved by Coster; and that they were now resorted to, in order to reprint those particular pages of the text, in the Latin edition in question, of which the robber had carried off all the impressions. But it does not seem probable that this unfaithful assistant should have carried off *all* the printed impressions of *some* leaves, and *none* of the *others*; and I shall offer another explanation, concerning the twenty pages of block-printing, in the above Latin edition, and the two pages of inferior type, in the Dutch edition, in a future page of this work.

Koning goes on to say, in the *fourth* place, that upon looking into the records of the time, he has found that at Christmas, 1439, a more than usual number of messengers were despatched from the judicial authorities of Haerlem to those of Amsterdam, and he conjectures the above robbery to have been the cause; after which he answers the objection that has been urged against the story, that one man could not have been able to carry off all the type and other printing utensils, &c.

The *Ninth Chapter* treats of the improvement and perfecting of



typography at Mentz; and the *Tenth* of the ‘Strasburg Process of 1439.’ Mr. Koning’s opinion is, that Gutenberg was at that time occupied in endeavours to construct a printing-press of a more perfect kind than had been before known. I conclude that he means it to be understood, as Meerman believed, that Gutenberg had been before informed of Coster’s printing operations, by his supposed elder brother Gensfleisch. The *four pieces*, spoken of by some of the witnesses, and which were to fall to pieces upon the two screws (or *wurbelin*) being taken out, were, he thinks, parts of the press itself.

Mr. Koning devotes his *Eleventh Chapter* to the testimonies of foreign writers in favour of the claims of Haerlem; namely, *Ulric Zell*, *Mariangelus Accursius*, and *Ludovico Guicciardini*; but especially the two latter: for, in the *Twelfth*, the account given in the Cologne Chronicle, upon the authority of *Zell*, is again treated of separately. Mr. Koning remarks very sensibly upon the unfair attempts, which have been made, by the writers of the opposite side, to throw discredit upon *Zell*’s account; and upon Santander’s entire suppression of that part of it which speaks of the Dutch *Donatuses*. The *Thirteenth Chapter* treats of the Mazarine Bible: he speaks of it as the ‘*first Bible*,’ and hints no doubt of the genuineness of the two manuscript attestations of the pretended bookbinder and illuminator, Henricus Albch, alias Cremer; concerning which, I have ventured to give a different opinion.

The testimonies of *Jan van Zuyren* and *Theod. Volkert Coornhert*, occupy the *Fourteenth Chapter*; and the narrative of *Junius* is given in the *Fifteenth*; together with various observations in its support, of some of which I may, perhaps, avail myself hereafter. All these testimonies have been laid before the reader in our second chapter.

In his *Sixteenth Chapter*, Mr. Koning speaks of the short passage in *Carl van Mander*, in which, without doubt, that author intended to attribute the invention of printing to Haerlem; and he shews that the silence of the early chroniclers upon the pretensions of Holland, (always excepting the editor of the Chronicle of Cologne), has been more insisted upon, by the writers of the adverse party, than it ought to have been.

“ *Veldener*,” he tells us, “ in the ‘ Fasciculus Temporum,’ printed by him in Latin, in 1476, at Louvain, and in Dutch, in 1480, at Utrecht, observes (only), in speaking of the art of printing, ‘ that printers had rapidly spread themselves over the earth.’ The same is found, in an edition afterwards printed at Cologne by *Arnold Ter Hoernen* ; whilst in the editions of *Quentel*, printed in Cologne in 1478 and 1481, it is afterwards added, that the art originated at Mentz. If *Veldener* and *Ter Hoernen*, had been convinced of the truth of this last account, they certainly would not have failed to mention it. They therefore confirm, by their silence, the numerous testimonies which state that although the art of printing was perfected at Mentz, the original invention of it belongs to Holland. [This last observation is not, I think, justified : the silence of *Veldener* and *Ter Hoernen* proves nothing either way.]

“ We can never infer,” he adds, “ from the silence of the authors of chronicles, that a fact has not taken place. A great number of contemporaneous writers of the fifteenth century, have preserved a profound silence on the invention or improvement of the art of printing at Mentz ; although no one is now ignorant that that art was improved and perfected in that city. This reformation, this perfecting of the art, was afterwards so much extolled, that the modest origin of it at Haerlem has been entirely obscured and lost sight of ; whilst, in the eyes of people in general, the Mentz books, with their imposing colophons, have seemed, alone, to deserve to be termed works of printing.”

In the *Seventeenth Chapter*, Koning answers the objections, that no printed book bears the name of Coster or of his descendants ; and that neither he nor they ever entered their protest against the pretensions of Mentz.

“ It has been brought against Haerlem,” he says, “ by Heinecken and Santander, that no book is known, containing any inscription stating it to have been printed by Laurent Janssoen Coster or his descendants. We agree,” says he, “ that no such book has been found : but neither is any book to be produced bearing the name of Gutenberg. Must we, on this account, strike his name out of the list of the first printers ? The aim of the first printers was to imitate manuscripts, and to make their printed books pass for such ; and therefore, lest their art should be found out, it behoved them to keep their names a profound secret. . . . . The first inventor could have had no idea of the astonishing influence which his art would have in the world in future ages ; and no person can feel surprise that he did not affix his name to his first essays.



“ Besides, the printers of the fifteenth century very commonly omitted to put their names to the editions printed by them. The number of books existing of this century, without either the name of the printer, or the place of their publication, is prodigious. Ulrich Zell, for example, according to Santander, printed eighty books ; and, out of this number, has only put his name to two or three. With what appearance of reason, therefore, is it insisted, that the works, which are attributed to Laurent Janssoen Coster, are not his, because they are not signed with his name ?

“ But it is said, that neither Coster nor his descendants ever vindicated their claims, against the pretensions put forth by the Mentz printers. . . . Neither did Gutenberg vindicate his, against Fust and Schoeffer ; who, in the colophon of the Psalter of 1457, and in the subscriptions of numerous other books, took all the honour to themselves, making no mention of him whatever ; although it is not doubted that Gutenberg set up a printing office of his own after 1455, and he is regarded, by the writers on the side of Mentz, as the inventor and perfector of the art of printing.” [I have already given my reasons for disbelieving the alleged re-establishment of Gutenberg’s printing press, after his separation from Fust.]

In his *Eighteenth Chapter*, Mr. Koning very ably exposes the inconsistencies and contradictions, into which Heinecken and Santander were betrayed, in speaking of the origin of the *Speculum*, and of the places where, and the printers by whom, they suppose the different editions of it to have been printed. We have sufficiently observed upon all this, in our examination of the systems of those two writers. In the *Nineteenth Chapter*, it is shewn that Heinecken has not proved that the most ancient Block-books originated in Germany ; and, on the contrary, it is insisted, that the more important and earliest works of that kind were executed in Holland.

The *Twentieth Chapter*, is upon the contradictions which are found in the accounts of different old writers on the side of Mentz or Strasburg. As it is not long, I shall give it entire.

“ It is deserving the consideration,” he says, “ of impartial persons, that all those who attribute the invention of printing to Haerlem, are perfectly agreed as to the individual by whom it was discovered, and also as to the time and manner of the invention and its gradual progress. [But, who are the writers of the sixteenth century, who mention the name of Coster, excepting Junius

alone? And have not some of the writers, on the side of Haerlem, dated Coster's alleged invention earlier than others?] Whilst, on the contrary, those who attribute this invention to Mentz, differ, almost all of them, either as to the author of it, the time, or the place. The learned *Daunou* has shewn this in a few words, in his 'Analyse des opinions diverses sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie,' Paris, An. XI. p. 78-80; and what he says on the subject well merits perusal. We shall here take no notice of those who ascribe this invention to Italy; but shall confine ourselves to the writers on the side of Mentz.

"It is the received opinion among these writers, and, as they think, among impartial persons generally, that the first honour, as the inventor, is to be ascribed to Gutenberg. One would suppose, from this, that the name of Gutenberg would constantly occur in old authorities, when speaking of the invention; and yet this is very far from being the case. We need only to refer to the colophons of the books printed at Mentz, beginning from the year 1457, in which no mention is ever made of the name of Gutenberg.

"Those, moreover, who attribute the invention to Gutenberg, are not agreed, whether or not he and Gensfleisch are one and the same person.

"*Joh. Schoeffer*, the son of Pieter Schoeffer, attributes the invention to his grandfather Fust, alone: [that is in the Colophons of the books printed by him from 1509 to 1524.]<sup>33</sup> The celebrated *Erasmus*, also ('in Praef. ad Livii,' Mogunt. 1519), says not a word of Gutenberg, but names Fust, only.

"A later descendant of Fust, viz. *Joh. Fred. Fust ab Aschaffembourg* (Köhler, 'Ehren-Rettung,' p. 89-94.) also styles Fust the inventor, and P. Schoeffer, the reformer of the art: but he also mentions Gutenberg, as having afterwards associated himself with Fust, and as having assisted him with his money.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Joh. Schoeffer*, in the Dedication to the Emp. Maximilian, prefixed to his Ed. of Livy, A. 1505 (which *Meerman*, vol. II. p. 145-6, gives in the original German and in Latin), says: . . . . 'admiranda ars typographica ab ingenioso *Johanne Guttenbergio*, anno a nativitate Christi, Domini nostri, 1450, *inventata*, et posthac *studio, sumtu et labore Joannis Fust et Petri Schoefferi Moguntiae, emendata et ad posterum propagata est*,' &c. The question is, did he discover, after 1505, that his first information had been erroneous, or did he afterwards endeavour, *unfairly*, to deprive Gutenberg of his merited share of praise? The partisans of Gutenberg give the latter interpretation to *Joh. Schoeffer's* conduct; but the former is, I think, quite as likely to be the true one.

<sup>34</sup> It is a most curious circumstance, that this descendant of Fust (*Wolffius*, vol. I. p. 452, seq.) produces the Law-process of 1455, between Fust and Gutenberg, in *proof that Gutenberg had no part whatever in the invention of printing*: 'Sequitur exemplum Instrumenti judicialis,' says he, 'ex autographo, unde apparet, Johannem Guttenber-



*Stumpfen*, and other writers, give the glory of the invention to Fust. *Turcmaier* (in 'Annal. Boëci,' Lib. VII. cap. xxvi. No. 16.) makes Gutenberg an assistant of the others. *Mariangelus Accursius*, makes no mention whatever of Gutenberg. *Polydore Virgil*, in his small work 'de Rerum Inventoribus,' (Marchand, p. 43, 44, Danou, p. 41.) says that Peter of Mentz (Schoeffer) was the inventor : and Professor *Schwarz* ('in primaria quædam Documenta de Origine Typographiæ,' &c.) falls into the grosser error, of supposing the existence of two Peter Schoeffer.

"*De Lignamine* ('in Cronica summorum Pontificum, Imperatorumque,' Romæ, 1474) commits another error ; saying that, in 1458, Jacques Gutenberg and Joh. Mentelin of Strasburg, with Fust of Mentz, printed with forms of metal. *Jac. Phil. Bergomensis*, ('in Supplemento Chronicarum,' Venet. 1483) says, under this year, that some give the invention to Gutenberg, others, to Fust, and others, again, to Nicolas Jenson. Other writers, such as *Mat. Judex*, *A. Riven*, and *H. Salmuth*, say that Gutenberg furnished money to the two inventors, Fust and Schoeffer.

"*J. D. Werthern*, ('Warthafftige Nachrichten, &c. p. 2,) on the other hand, is of opinion, and so say the two 'Chronicles of Strasburg,' of which one is by *D. Specklin* (Meerman, Vol. II. p. 199—202) that Joh. Mentelin of Strasburg was the real inventor, and that his workman Genzfleisch, whom he distinguishes from Gutenberg, carried the art to Mentz. *Spiegel*, *Gebweiler*, and *Jac. Mèntel*, also declare themselves for Joh. Mentelin ; whilst *Des Roches*, one of the most violent opposers of Haerlem, attributes the invention to Gutenberg, Genzfleisch, Mentelin and Fust, that is to four different persons. (Köhler, p. 2, 3, 5, 6, 43, 93, 94. Meerman, Vol. II. p. 160, 199—202. Daunou, 'Analyse,' p. 46, 47)."

In the *Twentieth Chapter*, Mr. Koning speaks of the 'Company of Printers', &c. at Antwerp, in 1442, of which a brief mention has been already made.

gium nequaquam artis hujus nobilis primum auctorem esse, sed à Joh. Fausto in consortium adscitum, pecuniam ei suppeditasse.' So that while some writers bring forward this document *in proof that Gutenberg was the Inventor of Printing*, others, with equal confidence, produce it *in proof that he was not !* The very frequent use of the pronoun *he*, in this Notarial Act, the names of both the contending parties happening to be John, and the rare introduction of their sir-names, are circumstances which taken together, may not unreasonably be supposed to render some parts of it of very doubtful interpretation. I may, perhaps, again recur to this subject hereafter.

“ Mr. *Des Roches* (‘ *Memoires de l’Académie de Bruxelles*, T. I. p. 515-539,) discovered, a manuscript collection ‘ *of the Privileges of the Confraternity of St. Luke at Antwerp*,’ written by Cornelius Grapheus, secretary of that city ; among which is a privilege, granted in the year 1442, wherein it is said, that this company was composed of Calligraphists, Illuminators, *Printers*, Bookbinders, &c. Des Roches has supposed, that by this term, *printers*, was to be understood printers of books ; that printing therefore was established at Antwerp as early as 1442, and that the printers then formed a company.”

Mr. Koning, however, is of opinion, that these printers were mere artizans, whose business it was to stamp or print ornaments, &c. with heated irons. He says, that, in the accounts of the treasury of Haerlem of 1465, he finds an entry of two florins, paid for an iron to print with (*printijzer*), or, as the French would call it, ‘ *un fer à gaufrer*.’ But I do not see why these *printers* may not have been printers of cards, wood-cuts of saints, and perhaps books of similar cuts with inscriptions, such as the ‘ *Apocalypse*,’ the ‘ *Biblia Pauperum*,’ &c. The decree of the government of Venice, anno 1441, in favour of the Venetian manufacturers of cards and printed figures, seems to prove, beyond all doubt, that wood-engraving was well-known, long before that time, in different parts of Europe.

At the end of this chapter, Mr. Koning speaks of Lord Spencer’s wood-print of St. Christopher, with the date of 1423. He thinks that the date was originally: ‘ *A°. Millesimo CCCC°LXX tertio*,’ and that the L has been taken out ; but I am satisfied that he is wrong in this opinion.

We now come to our author’s ‘ *Conclusion* ;’ in which he sums up the various proofs and arguments which have been produced by him in the course of his work. I have spoken of all, or most of these, in the order in which they occur in the different chapters ; and am the less disposed to recapitulate, as I should only have to repeat my denial of the truth of several of them ; and especially of those concerning his *first Dutch edition of the Speculum*, upon the supposed antiquity of which his whole system (like that of his predecessor Meerman) so mainly depends. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Koning here repeats :



“ That he is fully convinced that the said *Dutch Speculum*, which is recognized as the first and most ancient edition, and of which two copies are preserved at Haerlem (although it was preceded by sundry small essays, such as the ‘ *Horarium* and the *Donatus*,) is really, and in point of fact, *the first book of any magnitude that saw the light, after the invention of printing with moveable cast type.*”

A short ‘*Supplement*,’ closes the volume. Mr. Koning therein tells us, that in the year 1818, a work of mine, entitled, ‘*An Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving upon Copper and in Wood*,’ London, 1816, 4to., had fallen into his hands ; and that he had read it with the more pleasure, as it contained some things corroborative of his own opinions, and favourable to the pretensions of Haerlem. He observes, that I have there proved, by certain deficiencies in some of the lines of the vignettes in the *Latin* edition of the *Speculum*, which Heinecken and Santander consider as the most ancient, that, when that edition was printed, the engraved blocks had suffered various fractures, the marks of which do not shew themselves in the vignettes of the edition commonly called the *second Dutch* ; and that, consequently, the edition last-mentioned was *certainly* printed before the other. This is quite true : and it proves that Mr. Koning has been right in giving priority to this Dutch edition. But, it is also proved by me, in the same manner, that the *other Latin edition is the most ancient of all* ; and that the pretended *first Dutch edition*, of which two copies are preserved at Haerlem, was *the last printed of the four* ; and upon this, although Mr. Koning had the opportunity of examining and comparing these two editions as often as he pleased, he preserves a profound silence. Surely, as the *proof* is the same in all these cases, it would have been wiser in Koning not to refer to it in the one case, unless he was prepared to admit it in the others : for, certain it is, that he could not compare the vignettes of his supposed first Dutch edition with those of the other Dutch edition in the collection of Mr. Enschedé, or with those of the first Latin in the ‘*Hotel de Ville*’ at Haerlem, without immediately perceiving all those marks of fracture in the cuts, in his sup-

posed first Dutch edition, which I had pointed out in the second Latin, and, indeed a few others besides.

I have now, as I promised, passed in review the statements advanced, and the arguments mainly relied on, by some of the chief writers on this controversy, and have commented upon them, I trust, in a spirit of candour and impartiality : and, if I do not deceive myself, it as been shewn, that, as well those on the one side, as on the other, have in great measure built their systems upon unsound premises ; that, in not a few instances, they have relied upon evidence, either not true, or at the best, doubtful ; and that they have often given an interpretation to the documents produced by them, which they will not fairly bear. It is evident that a conclusion resulting from such a process, can be but of little value ; and that, at all times, a writer of talent, if he resort to similar means, may easily make out a case, whether he take the one side, or the other.



## CHAPTER IX.

### OF THE EARLY USE OF WOOD-ENGRAVING IN EUROPE. THE BLOCK-BOOKS, &c.

It is agreed by all writers, that the ancient practice of manufacturing Playing-cards, and the Images of Saints, by means of engraved wooden blocks, ultimately gave rise to the invention of typography : it is therefore proper that I should here say something of the early use of Wood-Engraving in Europe ; and in doing so, I shall occasionally avail myself of my former work.

The earliest public document that we possess, in which positive mention is made of this art, is a decree of the Government of Venice, which Temanza, an architect of that city, had the good fortune to discover amongst the archives of the old company of Venetian painters ; and is as follows :

“ M CCCC XLI. October the 11th. Whereas the art and mystery of making *cards* and *printed figures*, which is used at Venice, has fallen to total decay ; and this in consequence of the great quantity of *playing-cards*, and *coloured figures printed*, which are made out of Venice ; to which evil it is necessary to apply some remedy ; in order that the said artists, who are a great many in family, may find encouragement, rather than foreigners. Let it be ordered and established, according to that which the said masters have supplicated, that, from this time in future, no work of the said art that is printed or painted on cloth or on paper, that is to say altar-pieces (or images) and playing cards, and whatever other work of the said art is done with a brush and printed, shall be allowed to be brought or imported into this city, under pain of forfeiting the works so imported, and thirty livres and twelve soldi, pag. 6 ; of which fine, one-third shall go to the state, one-third to the Signori Giustizieri Vecchi, to whom the affair is committed, and one-third to the accuser. With this condition, however, that the artists, who make the said works in this city, may

not expose the said works for sale in any other place but their own shops, under the pain aforesaid, except on the day of Wednesday at S. Paolo, and on Saturday at S. Marco, under the pain aforesaid."

Then follow the subscription of 'the Proveditori del Comune,' and that of the 'Signori Giustizieri Vecchi.'<sup>35</sup>

The Italian<sup>36</sup> writers argue, and I think fairly, that this decree is of itself good evidence of wood-engraving having been practised at Venice at least as early as the commencement of the fifteenth century. The time that must have elapsed, say they, from the first introduction of the art in Venice, to its full establishment, when it furnished, no doubt, an article of beneficial commerce, and afforded the means of subsistence to a very numerous body of artisans who practised it, cannot be computed at less than twenty or thirty years; nor can a shorter period be supposed to have elapsed from that epoch till the year 1441, when it is described as having fallen, into little less than a total decay.

<sup>35</sup> "Thus in the original: "MCCCCXLI. adi XI. Otubrio. Consciosia che l'arte, & mestier, delle carte, e figure stampide, che se fano in Venesia è vegnudo a total deffaction, e questo sia per la gran quantità de carte da zugar, e fegure depente stampide, le qual vien fate de fuora de Venesia, ala qual cosa è da meter remedio, che i diti maestri, i quali sono assai in fameja, habiano più presto utilidade, che i forestieri. Sia ordenado, e statuido, come anchora i diti maestri, ne ha supplicado, che da mo in avanti non possa vegnir over esser condotto in questa Terra alcun lavorerio dela predicta arte, che sia stampido, o depento in tella, o in carta, come sono anchone e carte da zugare, e cadaun altro lavorerio dela so arte facto a penello, e stampido, soto pena di perdere i lavori condutti, e liv. xxx. e sol. xii. pag. 6. dela qual pena pecuniaria un terzo sia del Comun, un terzo di signori justitieri vechi, ai quali questo sia comesso, e un terzo sia del accusador. Cum questa tamen condition, che i maestri, i quali fanno dei predetti lavori in questa Terra, non possano vender i predetti suo lavori fuor delle sue botege sotto la pena predetta, salvo che de merchore a S. Polo, e da sabado a S. Marco sotto la pena predetta.

"Nel millesimo, e zorno soprascritto fo confermado lordene soprascritto per i spectabili, et generosi homini mis. Nicolò Bondimero, mis. Jeronimo Querini, e mis. Andrea Barbarigo honorandi provedadori de Comun.

"Et per i spectabili signori justixieri vechi mis. Jeronimo Contarini, e mis. Nadal Malipiero, el terze absente, mandando, e comandando, che de cetero la sia observada in tutto, e per tutto."

<sup>36</sup> "Lettere Pittoriche," Tom. V. p. 321. *Lanzi*, Storia Pittorica, Tom. I. p. 75. Bassano, 1795-6. *Zani*, Materiali, &c. p. 76.



Temanza, indeed, possessed "certain fragments of wood prints, rudely engraved, and representing different parts of Venice in its ancient state;" which, from his knowledge of the various local alterations that had taken place in the city since that period, could not, he judged,<sup>37</sup> be of a later date than the commencement of the century.

This edict, indeed, speaks of the art of making cards and printed figures, in terms which would have been every way appropriate, had it had for its object the re-establishment of the oldest manufacture of Venice; and may, I think, justify the conjecture, that the Venetians acquired the art of wood-engraving at a somewhat early period of their intercourse with the people of Thibet and China; that they practised it, among the other arts which they had learned from their Eastern<sup>38</sup> friends, as a means of beneficial traffic with the continent of Europe; and that, in the course of time, the artists of Germany, and other parts, found out their secret and practised it themselves.

The government of Venice, it appears, did not deem it necessary to provide against the importation of printed figures, and cards of foreign manufacture, until 1441. It therefore seems probable, that, although the art of engraving in wood may have been practised in many parts of Europe, as well as in Venice, prior to 1400, the Venetian engravers continued to be more numerous, and, perhaps more skilful, than those of other countries, until some time after that period; but that at length, wood-engraving became improved by the artists of other parts; and that these, after the use of playing-cards was become general, so increased in numbers and dexterity, as to be able to furnish their

<sup>37</sup> Lett. Pitt. Tom. V. p. 322.

<sup>38</sup> *Busching*, ("La Italia Geografico-Storico-Politica," Venegia, 1780, 8vo. Tom II. p. 15.") enumerates several sorts of manufacture which it is probable the Venetians learned in their intercourse with the East, and which, he says, they exclusively possess; especially a particular mode of making looking-glasses and glass beads. The showy productions of ancient Venetian manufacture are even now proverbial throughout Italy, under the appellation of "le galanterie di Venezia."

Mr. Douce possessed, in his highly valuable and interesting collection, a curious chart of Venetian workmanship of about 1400: it is neatly drawn with a pen, and folded in a manner very similar to many of the oriental manuscripts. The style of the cover in which it is enclosed, and indeed, its whole appearance, is truly Asiatic.

cards and printed figures at a lower price, perhaps, and of a better quality, than the Venetian artists themselves could do; thus menacing entirely to supersede the use of the productions of an ancient Venetian manufacture, even in the city of Venice itself. Under these circumstances the Government prudently stepped forward for the protection of its own citizens with the above decree; which Zani, indeed, is of opinion, was intended to favour those artists who resided within the city of Venice, by prohibiting the importation of such kind of works, not only from distant parts of Europe, but even from places under the dominion of the Venetian republic.<sup>39</sup>

The silence of the writers of the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth century, as to the art of engraving in wood, is no proof against its common usage in those times. It is probable that *the nature of the art long remained a secret, known only to those who practised it; and that it was commonly confounded with painting or drawing.* The representations of saints, and other devotional subjects, which the first wood-engravers produced, were rudely engraved and printed in outline, and afterwards daubed over with a few gay colours, so as to catch the eye of the vulgar, who no doubt considered them as pictures, and, like the vulgar of our own times, so denominated them. Being manufactured with little labour, they were sold at a cheap rate, and perhaps, upon the occasion of religious festivals, sometimes distributed gratis to the common people, who hung them up in their private oratories, or in other parts of their dwellings. Hence it is reasonable to suppose, that they were little esteemed by the richer classes of the community, who considered them as *paintings of an inferior kind*, and themselves employed artists of eminence to execute more finished pictures of such devotional subjects as they required, on vellum or on board. It is therefore, not extraordinary that the ancient use of wood engraving should have escaped the notice of contemporaneous histo-

<sup>39</sup> Zani, "Materiali, &c." p. 77. Zani makes this remark, in reference to a passage in Heineken, (*Idée Générale*, p. 245) who, after noticing the decree in question, observes, as a matter of course, that all these foreign manufacturers of cards were Germans: "*qui sans doute,*" says he, "*étoient des Allemands.*"



rians; since many of them were, perhaps, unconscious even of the existence of such an art; and those who were acquainted with it, considered it an art of small importance.

Heineken, (*Idée Générale*, p. 237. seq.) and some other writers, have ascribed the invention of engraving in wood to the manufacturers of cards; but they have been unable to produce any evidence in support of such an opinion; and it is very possible that the art may have been practised in Europe long before playing-cards came into general use.

The argument of these writers seems briefly as follows: the use of playing-cards having become general, say they, the artists, whose occupation it was to make them, finding the great length of time which was required to design them with the hand, began to think that much labour would be saved were they to engrave their outlines upon blocks of wood, and print them; and, therefore, they invented the art in question. This mode of reasoning is founded upon the agreeable supposition, that the means of accomplishing any desired purpose are always to be ready at the call; and could be applied, with equal force, in support of the opinion, that wood-engraving had been invented two centuries earlier, for the purpose of satisfying the popular demand for the images of saints.

The truth is, that we have no evidence whatever of wood-engraving having been invented in Europe; but, on the contrary, many reasons to suppose that we obtained it from the East; among which may be named the mode of printing by friction, used by our early engravers on wood, and the custom, still, I understand, preserved in Germany, of gluing the design itself, which it is intended to engrave, upon the wooden block, and afterwards cutting through it: both of them methods which exactly resemble those practised, from time immemorial, by the Chinese.

The inhabitants of Germany and the Low Countries appear to have devoted themselves with eagerness to the practice of this art; and more abundant monuments of its early use have been found in the libraries of old monasteries, and the cabinets of the curious, in those

countries than in Italy; whether it be that the art was not prosecuted there with equal diligence, and, consequently, did not attain that perfection which might ensure to it the same encouragement and general regard; or that the taste of the Italians, at the close of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth century, had become too refined to permit them any longer to tolerate the rude productions of their ancient wood engravers: and indeed this latter supposition seems the more probable, as the extreme rarity even of the prints of the earliest Italian engravers on copper is with difficulty to be accounted for, except by supposing that the greater part were destroyed by their possessors, as worthless, very soon after more finished works of the kind had appeared.

The earliest print, bearing a date, of the existence of which we have at present any certain knowledge, is the SAINT CHRISTOPHER, carrying the infant Jesus across an arm of the sea, now in the splendid library of Earl Spencer, and which, as has been before said, was discovered by Heineken in the convent of the Chartreuse at Buxheim, near Memmingen: it is of a folio size, and coloured in the manner of our playing-cards; and at the bottom of it is this inscription:

“Cristoferi faciem die quacunque tueris,  
Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris.  
Millesimo cccc° xx tercio.”

This print is pasted, just as Heineken found it, within one of the covers of a manuscript entitled ‘*Laus Virginis*,’ bearing the date Anno 1417; and I may add, in proof of the genuineness of that date, that I find among my tracings, made from the ancient books of accounts at the Hague, the *exact same paper-mark* as in this manuscript, taken from two books of accounts, coming from different parts of Holland, of the years 1418-19, and 1420-21. The late Earl Spencer was so good as to permit this piece to be copied, of the same dimensions as the original, for my former work; and as the present proprietors of the engraved block have kindly permitted me the use of it upon



this occasion, the reader will be enabled to form a true judgment of its merits as a work of art.

I would observe of it, that the principal group is composed with dignity, and, indeed, in respect of arrangement, is not inferior to many pictures of the same subject, executed by esteemed artists of later times. The reciprocity between St. Christopher and the sacred infant is well conceived; the head of the saint is expressive, and the drapery, floating over his shoulder, is boldly cast. But the extremities, and some other parts of the figures, are so defective in point of drawing, as to give reason to suspect that the artist, who prepared the design from which the print was immediately engraved, had no part in the invention of the piece; except that of introducing the fish under the feet of the saint, the diminutive mill in the foreground, and the other absurd accessories by which he is surrounded.

Within the other cover of the same manuscript, another wood-print is pasted, representing 'the ANNUNCIATION OF THE VIRGIN.' It is undoubtedly the production of the same workman who engraved the St. Christopher, although, being free from some of the above defects, it is a more agreeable print. The subject did not require the introduction of naked limbs, which the best painters of those times were but ill qualified to design; whereas it allowed a fuller scope for the display of drapery, a part of the art with the principles of which even the most inferior designers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not unacquainted. Both these pieces were, without doubt, originally printed on the same sheet of paper; which, I conclude, was intended to be folded in the middle, and inserted, with the two subjects facing each other, in a book of devotion. They are of the same dimensions, and are tinted (apparently at the time) with exactly the same colours: the paper is strong, and the paper-mark (which of course, is found on only one of the prints) appears to be a bull's-head, with an upright line rising between the horns, and surmounted by a flower.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> The above two prints being pasted down, I was unable to trace the *exact* shape of

I formerly observed, in speaking of these two wood-prints ('Inquiry,' &c. page 91), that they shew no signs of having been taken off by friction, but were evidently printed with a press : but I now find, that, in saying this, I went further than I could be justified in doing, without examining the backs of them ; which, as they are pasted within the covers of the manuscript above mentioned, it was impossible for me to do. For I have since met with early wood-engravings of Germany and the Low Countries, taken off in black-ink by friction, as well as in the brownish tint which was commonly employed in the ancient block-books. Others, again, I have found, taken off in black printing-ink with a press ; and, indeed, I am in possession of a specimen of wood-engraving, printed in black oil-colour on both sides the paper by a down-right pressure, which I consider to have been, without doubt, printed in or before the year 1445, and of which I shall speak more particularly hereafter.

It appears, therefore, that both these methods of taking impressions from engraved blocks, were used at a very early period. Whether the St. Christopher, and its companion, were printed by friction, or with a press, I undertake not to determine ; though I incline to the opinion that they were printed in the latter method. I am aware, that the invention of a press for printing with, has been commonly considered contemporaneous with the invention of typography ; and that a proper black ink for printing, is said to have been first introduced in Holland, or Germany, at the same time : but black oil-colour was certainly used long previously in painting ; and that both these are vulgar errors, seems sufficiently proved by the prints just mentioned.

I suggested, in my former work, that, although the two wood-the paper-mark, as I might have done, could I have seen through the paper by holding it up to the light ; but the description I have given is generally accurate. This paper-mark, (the flower varying in the number of the leaves, which is sometimes four or five, and sometimes six, seven or eight), is sufficiently common in MSS. written in Germany in the first half of the fifteenth century, and I have it in one or two, dated 1435. But it by no means follows that this paper was made in Germany ; for I suspect that much of the paper that was used in that country at this early period, and for some time afterwards, came from Italy, and more especially from Venice.



engravings of 'St. Christopher' and the 'Annunciation' were discovered in Germany, they might possibly have been brought thither from Venice ; observing that the print of the Annunciation, especially, bears so striking a resemblance to the style of the old Italian schools as to furnish strong ground for such an opinion. Those, I observed, who are acquainted with the style of art which, founded by Giotto, and promulgated by his scholars, prevailed more or less throughout Italy, from the beginning of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century, will discover this similitude in the general arrangement of the composition ; the simplicity and lightness of the architecture, with unornamented circular arches, supported by a single slender pillar and pilasters ; the graceful attitude of the Virgin ; and especially her drapery, which has none of the angular sharpness, the stiffness and flutter, so common in the productions of the ancient German school, but is divided into a few easy folds, by lines of gentle curvature.

The characters in the inscriptions on these two prints are in the black-letter, as it is called ; but this character prevailed very generally throughout Italy, and was more especially used in the inscriptions on pictures, &c. until towards the middle of the fifteenth century. Indeed, these inscriptions are in letters of a less gothic taste than those commonly found on the very early engravings, whether on wood or copper, of Germany or the Low Countries, and far more easy to read, because they have fewer angularities, and are less perplexed by flourishes and abbreviations.

It may be further worth remarking, that Buxheim, where these two prints were found, is at no great distance from Augsburgh ; which, in the fifteenth century, and some centuries earlier, was one of the great depôts of the Venetian merchants, through which, by land carriage, they furnished the southern parts of Germany with the numerous articles of their commerce and manufacture. A print of this age being found in Germany is, therefore, by no means a *certain* proof that it is of German manufacture. (See *Bettinelli*, 'Risorgimento d'Italia,' Tom. II. pp. 284, 301.)







Dutch MS. 1590. — W. Y. Outlet.



Large Wood-Print. A. 1423. — Earl Spencer.

I have to add to all this, that a few years ago I happened to find a repetition of the above design of the ‘Annunciation,’ among the illuminations of a small MS. book of prayers in the Dutch or Flemish language, which, from the general character of the costume, I judge to be of an earlier date than the wood-print, by full thirty years; and that, from a peculiarity in the head-dresses of some of the female figures, there appears no doubt that the MS. was written and decorated in Holland. I have caused this illumination to be carefully engraved, of the same dimensions as the original, in the annexed plate, placing beside it, for the convenience of comparison, a reduced copy of the wood-print. Notwithstanding this discovery, I still adhere to the opinion, that the original invention of the piece (which may date, perhaps, from an early part of the fourteenth century) is Italian; and that the wood-print is more likely to have been engraved at Venice than in Germany.

The next print in point of antiquity, hitherto known, bearing a date of the authenticity of which there appears no ground of doubt, is a wood-engraving of a quarto size, which was found in the Abbey of St. Blasius, in the Black Forest. It represents “the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian,” and is dated 1437: under it is a prayer (doubtless printed from the same block), and a repetition of the date, thus: M.CCCC.XXXVII.<sup>41</sup>

Jansen informs us, that “M. Krismer, the librarian to the Convent of the Chartreuse at Buxheim,” where the St. Christopher was discovered, “shewed De Murr an ancient wood-engraving, coloured in the manner used by the German card-makers, which was pasted in a manuscript, entitled, ‘Sermonum Partem Hyemalen, de Nicolas Dunkelspül.’ This print, which is seven inches and a half in height, by five inches and a half in width, is very much soiled, having been printed with a rubber. De Murr says, that he cannot compare it with any other ancient wood-engraving that he has seen, although he is acquainted with so many. It contains three subjects; the upper part of the print being divided, by a thick perpendicular line, into two compartments, each of three inches in height. In the compartment on the right, St. Dorothy is represented, seated in a garden; the infant Jesus is

<sup>41</sup> *Heinecken*, ‘*Neue Nachrichten*,’ p. 143.



offering her roses, with which he has his lap filled, and before her is a basket full of the same flowers. In the left compartment, St. Alexis is represented lying at the foot of some steps, upon which stands a man, who is pouring liquor upon him out of a vase. Near the perpendicular line before mentioned, is the following date, written with a pen :

“ *Anno dn. 1.4.4.3.*

“ The characters and the ink are conformable to the body of the manuscript : this date indicates the time when the copyist finished the MS. and caused it to be bound ; as is confirmed by the inscriptions at the end of the volume. The lower part of the print is entirely occupied by a representation of Christ bearing his cross, at the moment when he is met by his mother, whom one of the soldiers is pushing aside. Simon of Cyrene raises the end of the cross, to assist our Saviour in carrying it. The style of the engraving is very rude.”<sup>42</sup>

It is evident that this engraving, which, like the preceding, was most probably of German manufacture, must have been executed previously to 1443.

I have already briefly mentioned the having found a wood-engraving, which I consider to have been without doubt printed as early as 1445. It is inserted in a German MS. of that year, which was some time since kindly presented to me by my friend Mr. Sotheby. The MS. is a small square octavo, on paper, consisting of one hundred and eight written leaves ; the paper-mark is a *round tower with three battlements* ; and it is a somewhat singular co-incidence, that I find the same paper-mark, but a little smaller, in another German MS. in my possession, bearing date the very same year. It is written in bold, but well-formed cursive, such as a person might be expected to employ in making a fair copy of a work just composed by him ; and here and there, though not frequently, we find a word scratched across with the pen, and altered at the time, before the writing was dry, enough to show that the MS. is by the hand of the original author. It begins, on the recto of the first leaf, with the first line in red :

“ *In gotes namen Amen Die vorred.*

“ Ich armer tzell munich Cartheuser ordens In meiner stillen rive bin ich vnmüssig von beschewlikeit einer selen,” &c.

<sup>42</sup> *Jansen*, “ *Origine de la Gravure*,” Tom. I. p. 236.

In English, thus :

“ *In the name of God, Amen. The Preface.*

“ I, a poor cell-monk of the Carthusian Order, in my quiet retirement, am ever occupied in contemplation concerning the soul. I am still meditating on subjects for edification, to be addressed to God. And, since a new year now commences, Anno Dñi M°.cccc°xlv°. it is my intention to send this new book of devotion, as a new-year's-gift, to all devout hearts, that they may pray for my soul,” &c.

The gatherings consist of twelve leaves each : and between the second and third gathering, the wood-print in question is introduced ; the inner margin of it being so folded, as to be firmly situated between the backs of the third and following gatherings (the stitches of which pass through it) and the cover of the book. I am of opinion, that this print was certainly placed in the situation it now occupies by the original writer, whilst writing the book.

It represents, in the middle, Christ on the Cross ; on the left are the Virgin and Longinus, kneeling, and on the right a small figure, perhaps intended for the Centurion, and St. John, both of them standing. The figure of Christ is larger than the others. Underneath the cross are seen the gates of hell, and three of the patriarchs in limbo ; in the sky, on the left, is an angel with the sudarium of St. Veronica ; and at top, over the cross, are on the one side a knife, and on the other a scourge. The print measures five inches and three-quarters in height, by four inches and a quarter, and is one of the rudest performances of the kind that I ever saw.

The figure of Christ is spotted all over, from head to foot, with touches of *identically the same vermilion*, (for it is not the ordinary red ink) that the writer employed, throughout his book, in rubricating the capital letters, and in writing the titles of the different subjects into which it is divided ; besides which, blood streams, in more than usual abundance, from the hands and feet of the Saviour, and from the wound in his side. But the print is not otherwise coloured, and I am satisfied, that the figure of Christ was thus daubed over with red by the pious writer himself, in order that it should the better



correspond with the text opposite ; in which, addressing the Virgin upon the subject of her presence at the Crucifixion, he writes thus :

“ O betrübte müter Maria” &c. “ Oh sorrowful mother, Maria, the sword of thy griefs and pity has to day so deeply penetrated thy bosom, that no one can fully feel nor conceive it. Thou sawest the noble *blood flow profusely*. . . . thou wast under the cross, right modestly,” &c. &c.

Add, to all this, that the print, although occupying only a small portion of a sheet of paper, fortunately has the paper-mark, *a bull's-head with an upright line rising between the horns, surmounted by a star* ; and that I feel satisfied, from a careful comparison of it with my tracings and memoranda,<sup>43</sup> made a few years ago at the Hague, that the paper is identically the same (I mean made from the same sieve or mould) as that which I observed in the first part of a large thick MS. in folio, containing two volumes bound in one, in the archives of that city. This MS. contains, I believe, a statistical account of Holland, and appears to be a very laborious performance. It is entitled :

“ Repertorium ofte Remissorium met houte berderen ende koperen sloten.”

That it was many years in hand, appears from the following memorandum at the end of the preface :

“ Iste liber fuit prothocollatus per p̄dēm mgīm petrū de boostenzween de Renesse Anno dni millesimo quadringētesimo Tricesimo tercio—Et per eundem ex prothocollo s̄pletus & finit<sup>9</sup> Anno m<sup>o</sup>.cccc<sup>mo</sup>. Qudragesimo nono,” &c.

The collecting of the materials, no doubt, occupied the greater portion of this time ; and it seems by no means improbable that the first volume, in which alone this paper occurs, was fairly written about the same time as our little German manuscript.

<sup>43</sup> Every line of the paper-mark agrees *exactly* with my tracing from the book at the Hague, described in the text. The paper also is very strong, and is besides remarkable for a striped appearance, which is sometimes to be observed in the paper of this time : both circumstances which I find noted particularly in my memoranda concerning the paper of the said Dutch MS.

I before observed that this wood-cut is printed with a press and black oil-colour. I have to add, that the back of the paper exhibits another wood-engraving. This last represents the Madonna seated at the foot of the cross, with the dead body of Christ on her lap; and, though an unfinished performance, is so very superior to the other, as to leave no doubt that it is the work of a different artist. It has besides escaped being daubed with vermilion; and, on the whole, I have thought it well to have it copied in the annexed plate, as one of the earliest known specimens of wood-engraving. It will be perceived, that, when this impression was taken, the block had suffered considerably in several places from previous usage; as in the marginal lines at top and bottom, the scourge hanging from the cross, on the right, and the left hand and foot of the Saviour, &c.; and we are therefore justified in supposing it to have been engraved many years before the date of the MS.; nay, perhaps, at a very early period of the century.

The style of art which was practised by the most ancient engravers in wood was extremely simple. The designs from which they worked were little more than outlines; such as it was customary to prepare for those who painted on glass: the engraved blocks furnished the lineaments of the figures, and the prints were afterwards coloured by hand. By degrees, a few light hatchings were introduced, thinly scattered upon the folds of the draperies, and other parts of the figures; and occasionally, where the opening of a door, or the mouth of a cavern, was to be expressed, the block was left untouched, so that it might print black in such places, and thereby diminish the task of the illuminist. The ornamental borders, which often surrounded the devotional cuts of those times, were rendered more attractive to the eye, by the opposition of broad white and black lines; and sometimes intermediate spaces of greater extent were enlivened by large white dots, cut out (or perhaps punched) at equal distances in the block; or decorated with sprigs of foliage, or small flowers, relieved upon a dark ground.

Gradations of shadow were also sometimes attempted in the figures,



and other parts of wood-engravings, by means of short white hatchings; and of this kind is a very beautiful little wood-cut in my own collection, of which the reader is here presented with an accurate copy, representing the legend of 'the hunted Unicorn taking refuge in the lap of a Virgin.' It bears a great resemblance in style to the works of the Van Eycks: I conjecture it to be a print of considerable antiquity, and to have been engraved in the Low Countries, after a design in chiaro-scuro by the hand of some eminent artist. The figures contained in it are illustrated by short inscriptions on scrolls; which, however, are written in such strangely formed characters, that I have been enabled to decypher only a few of them. On the scroll, at bottom, is written *ortus oclus(us)*; and the names of the three dogs appear to be *castitas*, *veritas*, and *hūilitas*. Upon examining the back of this little print, it is seen, from its shining appearance, that, though printed with black ink, the impression was taken off by friction.

We find also wood-prints of much larger dimensions, but of a very inferior character in point of art, in which, instead of hatchings, white dots, differing in magnitude and proximity, were used in finishing the draperies of the figures, and some other parts; and of this kind is the *Sanctus Bernardinus*, in the 'Bibliothèque du Roi' at Paris, the rudest of all rude performances; and which has at bottom an inscription of five lines, with the date 1858.

This mode of finishing engravings in wood, appears to have been practised at Mentz, amongst other places, at an early period of the invention of typography. A very fine copy of the Mazarine Bible, as it is called, in the original binding, late the property of Messrs. G. and W. Nicol, had, pasted within its covers, two very interesting prints of this kind, representing 'Christ praying in the Garden,' and 'the Crucifixion of Christ between the two 'Thieves:;' and it is remarkable, that of the former print, which is of only half the dimensions of the other, two impressions were inserted; a circumstance which I mention, because I think it proves that these engravings were printed and sold at Mentz, contemporarily with the publication of this bible.

The print of the Crucifixion measures sixteen inches in height, by





Saint Bernard

Et lumen. puerum. zelator. pauperum. a.  
mator. innocens. nator. virginis. lumen.  
tot. sapientie. proferor. ueritatis. auctor. hinc  
muni. fulgorem. eterne. magister. para.  
nobis. adiutor. digne. puerum. amen.





ten and three quarters, and contains numerous figures, which are, however, as ill drawn as possible. I suspect that both these prints, and some others of the kind that I have seen, may have been engraved by the same artizans who were employed by Fust and Schoeffer to engrave the large initial letters of the Psalter; and that the persons who made the designs, though skilful in drawing sprigs of foliage, flourishes, and other typographical ornaments, were little accustomed to delineate the human figure.

The Crucified Redeemer occupies the centre of the piece, and his figure is larger than the others. The penitent malefactor is on his right, and on a scroll near his figure we read, "*dne memento mei dū veniris in regnū t(uum)*;" the other thief on his left says, "*si tu es xps saluū fac te ipm et nos*:" an angel, issuing from a cloud, over the former, receives his soul, whilst a devil is about to bear away that of the latter. Mary Magdalen embraces the foot of the cross, and on the foreground on the left is the Madonna fainting, supported by St. John, and one of her female companions. The other figures, seven in number, are all on horseback. One, on the left, has just pierced the side of Christ with his spear; another, on the same side, pointing upwards, addresses a third: "*heliam vocat iste*;" which last answers, "*alios saluos fe<sup>t</sup> se ip.*" On the other side is the Centurion, who exclaims, "*vere filius dei erat ho(mo) iste*;" and below him is another man holding a scroll, on which is written, "*vach (?) q(ui) destruis templū.*"

The following lines, in characters more than half an inch high, occupy a border on the two sides and top of the print; and like the rest, are white, relieved upon a black ground:

"*Imparilis meritis tria pendēt corpora ramis; Dismas et gesmas; ī medio dmi(nus): nā ptās Dismas saluatur, gesmas vero dampnificatur.*"

At bottom, but printed from a different block, is a prayer occupying three lines, in letters about a quarter of an inch high: "*Aue uerū corp<sup>9</sup> domi nri ihū xpi,*" &c. The letters in all these inscriptions, although somewhat extravagant in their forms, are cut with great



ability, and must have been written for the engraver by a well practised calligraphist, perhaps by Schoeffer himself.

The other print, as I have said, represents “ Christ praying in the garden,” and, in point of art, is somewhat less defective than the other; for which reason I have caused it to be accurately copied in the annexed plate, considering it a good specimen of this singular kind of workmanship. The inscription at bottom is :

“ *Factus est sudor ei<sup>9</sup> sicut gutte sagwinis decurrētis ī terram.*”

The other inscriptions, on scrolls, will be read without difficulty by persons who are accustomed to the black-letter character. Both these wood-engravings appear to have been printed by friction, with black ink; and are now in my own collection.

The late Mr. Douce, among the other curiosities of his fine collection, possessed a fragment of a Missal, in folio, printed on vellum with the same type as the famous Psalter of 1457; and, indeed, I am not without my suspicions, that this mass may have originally been inserted by Fust and Schoeffer in some copies of that book; since various church services were often introduced in MSS. of the Psalter; and I find it mentioned, that some of the copies now known of the Psalter of 1457, differ in the number of their leaves. Be this as it may, in the part beginning ‘ Te igitur,’ the capital T is of similar dimensions and magnificence with the well-known B, of which bibliographers have published fac-similes. The entire page opposite this ‘ te igitur’ was left blank by the printer; and a wood-cut on paper, of the Crucifixion, engraved, I should say, by the same artist who did the one above described, and of nearly the same dimensions, but with fewer figures, is sewed upon the vellum, so as to face this part of the service, according, I believe, to one of the ecclesiastical canons. This piece does not appear to have been printed by friction, but with a press.

These innovations in the art of wood-engraving were such as involved but little labour or difficulty in the execution, at the same time that they were calculated to produce a showy effect; and hence

they were afterwards practised occasionally, under various modifications, by the wood-engravers of other countries, especially in the decoration of books: as at Paris, where, at the close of the fifteenth century, and the commencement of the sixteenth, numerous small manuals of devotion were printed by Antoine Verard, Simon Vostre, and others, in which the borders surrounding the pages were decorated with small figures, very delicately engraved, and relieved upon a black ground, speckled over with minute white dots, such as have been described: for the French artists soon discovered, that this dotted method could not be so advantageously employed in shading their figures, as in giving richness of effect to the ground behind them, or to the surrounding accessories.

It is evident, however, that, with all the discretion that could be used, this method was not compatible with the purpose of imitating in wood cuts the appearance of original pen drawings: it was, therefore, never generally adopted by the best artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and we find nothing of it in the early block-books.

Enough has, I think, been said, to prove that the custom of engraving in wood the images of saints, and other devotional pieces, prevailed very generally in Europe at an early period of the fifteenth century: and indeed I am of opinion, that we cannot date the first introduction of the art in Germany and the Low Countries, later than the fourteenth century; and that specimens of that age may still exist in the monastic libraries of those countries; although, from their being without dates, it may now be difficult, or even impossible, to distinguish them from the wood-cuts of a later period. It will occur to the reader, that, in the way of evidence of this kind, the Germans and Belgians are likely to have greatly the advantage of the Dutch, and other Protestant nations; who, in consequence of the suppression long ago of their old convents, cannot now be expected to produce such numerous monuments of the ancient use of wood-engraving among them; though if, as there is reason to believe, the first editions of some of the most important of the block-books really



belong to Holland, no further proof will be required of the early and successful cultivation of the art in that country.

Of the early use of wood-engraving in England, although no one can doubt the fact, I am not aware that any certain evidence has hitherto been produced by any writer on these subjects : and I have, therefore, great pleasure in laying before the reader the fac-simile of an ancient wood-engraving, unique I believe in its kind, which it is evident from the language, and the forms of the characters, in the inscription under it, was engraved in this country ; and which bears, I think, such marks of antiquity as to render it not very improbable that it may be as old as the St. Christopher.

This interesting specimen represents the half-figure of Christ, after his passion, with the cross on which he suffered. It is remarkable that the title on the label, at top, is in Greek ; though the two first words of it, ‘ Ó : BÁCÍΛΕΨΣ,’ are all that it has been found possible to decypher ; the characters that follow being very equivocal. Over the arms of the cross we have IC XC, and below, ‘ *Ecce homo.*’ In the margin underneath are these four verses written in old English characters, among which are the *w*, and the Saxon character denoting *th*, exactly formed as we find them in English manuscripts of the end of the fourteenth, and the early part of the fifteenth century .

“ Seynt gregor. With oyer (other) popes & bysshoppes yn seer,  
Haue graunted of pardon xxvi. dayes & xxvi. mill yeer.  
To yeym yat befor yis fygur on yeir knees Deuoutly say.  
. V. pater noster. &. V. Auees.”

I had the good fortune to discover this little wood-cut several years ago, stitched on a blank leaf at the beginning of a manuscript book of devotion, on vellum, which I judged to be of the latter part of the fifteenth century. But it was evident from the numerous needle-holes in the margin, that it had been, in like manner, sewed into at least two other books, previously : besides which, it appears, from the back of the print, that in the first instance it had been folded, and that for a length of time it had been carried about by the devout







Letters of the Alphabet  
Ancient Wood Engraving from the British Museum.



possessor of it in a small pocket-book. This piece is printed in a brown tint by friction.

The Collection of the British Museum possesses another unique work of early wood-engraving, which I think it extremely probable was also executed in England. It consists, or rather originally consisted, of twenty-four pieces of a square form, pasted on guards formed of fragments of English manuscript of the fifteenth century, and enclosed in a rude parchment cover. In these cuts, the letters of the alphabet are represented by grotesque figures. I have caused four of them, the letters G. I. K. and L, to be accurately copied in the annexed plate. In the third piece, a lover is represented kneeling at the feet of his mistress, who holds a garland : he has a ring in his right hand, which he offers to her ; and in his left a scroll, with the motto : “ mon (coeur) avez,” ‘ You have my heart.’ It is worth remarking, that on the blade of a large sword, held by the standing figure in the fourth piece, the word ‘ *London*,’ is written, in small characters, with ink of the same brown tint as the cuts are printed in, and that on the drapery of the figure at his feet, we have the name ‘ *Bechemsted*,’ if I read it rightly, in cursive characters ; the writing of both which words appears to be of the fifteenth century, and coeval, or as nearly so as may be, with the date of the cuts themselves. The person who designed this curious alphabet must have been an artist of no mean talents, and the wood-engraver also merits praise. I find upon a careful examination that these pieces, twenty-four in number, were originally engraved on three blocks of wood, each containing eight letters, except the last, which ended with a compartment of foliage instead of a letter ; and that they were printed on three sheets of paper, each marked with an anchor. The first block had in the upper row, the letters A. B. C. D., and below, N. O. P. Q. ; the second, E. F. G. H., and R. S. T. V. ; and the third I. K. L. M., and X. Y. Z., with the piece of foliage just mentioned. I conclude, that the left hand edge of the second sheet was originally intended to be pasted to the right-hand margin of the first ; and, in like manner, the third sheet to the second ; when the whole



would have formed a frieze, exhibiting, in an unbroken series of two rows, the entire alphabet.

The ancient Block-books have been already briefly spoken of, in our chapter on the typographical System of Heinecken. I shall here add a few particulars concerning two or three of the best of them. Heinecken and Santander, as we have seen, ascribe the *first editions* of all the Block-books to Germany. But, I am quite satisfied that, in so doing, they judge erroneously; and that for all those, among them, whose pretensions to antiquity are not unaccompanied by some claims to our approval as works of art, we are indebted to the artists of the Low Countries.

In fact, the wood-engravings which appeared at Mentz, as has been shewn, in the infancy of printing, as well as those which, a few years afterwards, were introduced so abundantly into the printed volumes of the early German printers, generally, are all of them so very inferior in merit to the figures in these Block-books, as to make it impossible to be believed that these last could have been drawn and engraved in Germany, which at this time appears to have had no artists capable of producing works of such excellence.

Descamps,<sup>44</sup> copying Van Mander, commences his history of the Flemish and German painters, from the invention of oil-painting, with Hubert and Joh. Van Eyck; the former of whom died in 1426, and the latter, who is said to have first introduced this mode of painting, in 1441. These eminent artists appear to have resided chiefly at Ghent. Roger of Bruges, and Hugo Vander Goes, of the same place, come next. Then follow Albert van Ouwater of Haerlem, contemporary, or nearly contemporary, of the Van Eycks; Guerard of Haerlem, his disciple; and Dirk van Haerlem, who was born about 1410, and died in 1470; Hans Memmilinck of Bruges, one of whose pictures was dated 1479; Guerard Vander Meire of Ghent, Jan Mandyn of Haerlem, and Volckaert of the same city; Quintin Metzis of Antwerp; Jerom Bosche of Bois-le-Duc, celebrated for his talent

<sup>44</sup> *Descamps*. 'La Vie des Peintres Flamands, Allemands, et Hollandois.' 4 Tom. 8vo. Paris, 1753.

in subjects of whimsical and extravagant imagery, and Cornelius Enghelbrechten of Leyden, who was born in 1468, and died in 1533.

Nor can Van Mander, although he was himself a Fleming, be accused of any undue partiality to the Low Countries, in thus devoting the early part of his work so exclusively to the history of the Flemish and Dutch painters. These were really artists of ability and reputation, whose performances were not only known in Germany and the Low Countries, but also in Italy, whither they found their way in considerable numbers at an early period, and were highly prized. And, in truth, in an account written in the early part of the sixteenth century, by an anonymous writer supposed to have been a native of Padua,<sup>45</sup> in which are described pictures and works of art then existing at Padua, Cremona, Milan, Pavia, Bergamo, Crema and Venice, we find frequent and respectful mention of the works of most of the above-named artists of Holland and the Low Countries; whereas, of the painters of Germany we find no mention whatever; except of Albert Durer, and of one Jeronimo Todeschino, concerning whom I can find no information in other writers. In short, whoever will be at the pains to look over the list of the painters of these countries, with a map of Germany before him, will be presently convinced, that all those whose names have been deemed worthy of remembrance, from the time of the Van Eycks to that of Albert Durer, were, if we except Michel Wolgemut and Martin Schongauer, natives and residents either of Holland or Flanders. Indeed Schongauer, although descended from a family of Augsburg, is said to have been born, and to have resided and died, at Colmar in Alsace; so that he can scarcely be considered as a German painter. The numerous towns and cities of central Germany had each, doubtless, its artists: but they were inferior to those of the Low Countries; insomuch that the German school of painting can hardly be said to have commenced before

<sup>45</sup> "Notizia d'Opere di Disegno della prima meta del secolo XVI., &c. &c. Scritta da un Anonimo di quel tempo: Pubblicata e illustrata da *D. Jacopo Morelli*." 8vo. Bassano, 1800. This account was probably written more than seventy years before the publication of Van Mander's book.



Albert Durer. This may in some degree be accounted for, by the difficulties which attended long journeys by land in those early times, and naturally prevented that frequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the central parts of Germany and those of Italy, which was facilitated to the inhabitants of Holland and Flanders, by their numerous sea-ports, and their active commerce with the Mediterranean : and hence the Dutch and Flemish artists must have had many opportunities of improvement, which were denied to their less fortunate contemporaries residing in the inland parts of the continent. The best of the Block-books, and these appear to be the most ancient, are therefore to be ascribed to the artists of the Low Countries ; and it is probable that the designs for them were prepared by some of the above-named eminent masters, who, as Albert Durer did afterwards, saw to their accurate execution on blocks of wood, by wood-engravers brought up under their own eyes ; in which way, alone, the great delicacy, feeling and intelligence, with which the figures in some of them are engraved, can, I think, be accounted for.

I wish I could speak with more certainty than I am able to do, upon the respective ages of the Block-books. My friend Dr. Dibdin, has the following note in his ‘ *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*,’ Vol. I. p. 4.

“ Mr. Horn, a gentleman long and well known for his familiar acquaintance with ancient books printed abroad, was in possession of a copy of the BIBLIA PAUPERUM, of the ARS MORIENDI, and of the APOCALYPSE, all bound in one volume ; which volume had, upon the exterior of the cover, the following words stamped at the extremity of the binding, towards the edge of the squares : ‘ HIC LIBER RELEGATUS FUIT PER PLEBANUM—ECCLESIE—ANNO DOMINI 142(8).’ Mr. Horn having broken up the volume and parted with the contents, was enabled to supply me with the foregoing information upon the strength of his memory alone : but he is *quite confident* of the three following particulars :—1. That the works, contained in this volume, were as have been just mentioned : 2. That the binding was the ancient legitimate one, and that the treatises had *not* been *subsequently* introduced into it : and, 3. That the date was 142..odd—but positively anterior to the year 1430.”

The cautious manner in which Mr. Horn here speaks ; his *certainty*





Inapunt temptationes demonis temptantis hominem de septem  
peccatis mortalibus et eorum rursus. Et statim sequitur defensio boni  
angelis custodis hominis contra hec sacra scripturam allegantis.



Diabolus tēp-  
tans dicit



Angelus defensus  
contra dicit



Superbus sis  
Inuide  
Inascere  
Tristare  
Cupidinis esto  
Ingratū galare  
Inimicare

Non qd scriptū est

Septē vicia  
mortalia

Dens superbis reficit iulibus autē dat grāciam  
Invidia dyaboli mors ut vomit in orbem terrarum  
Qui irascitur frī suorens erit iudicio  
Invidia huius seculi mortem operatur  
Radix omniū malorum est cupiditas  
Videte ne corda vĩa grauetur crapula et ebrietate  
Porncatores et adulteros iudicabit deus

Ante vī manū exaltati cor  
Melior est obediencia qđ mīttimē  
Qui se jactat et dilatat iurgis querit  
Simulatores et calidi puocant venū dei  
Vbi est zelus et cotencio ibi in cōfācia et oē opus piam  
Maledictus furor eoz quia pīnat  
Deus detestatur qui tēminat ut frēs discordias  
Propheanas voluntates demit

Non qd scriptū est

In altum erigere  
In obediens esto  
Iacta te  
Simula  
Contende  
Pīnat sis  
Discordias semina  
Mortales pīna

Superbia  
cui viciū

Nichil per gūndiam et contentionē facias  
Qui odit frēm suū homicida est  
Non eris criminatosi et infūro in populo  
Detractores sunt deo odibiles  
Qui in vīnam letatur alterius nō erit impunitus  
Mediū eris cū diues frēs sint homines cū mīltiplicata frūs glā dūm  
De qm predario nomine et ipse predaberis  
Quis homicida non habet vitā et iā in seipso manentem

Non qd scriptū est

Invidia terre  
Odium habe  
Sulcora  
Detrahe  
Sande in mal' pī  
Dole i bonis eius  
Predare  
Occide

Invidia  
curam

Quis ira et indignatio et blasphemā tollat a vobis

Et tunc

Quia molitur frando agnū gtra aiās suas



as to the first three figures of the date, his *uncertainty* as to the fourth, give altogether an air of authenticity to his testimony, which it were ungracious to question. With all this, I wish that the volume still existed entire, or that, at least, the cover had been preserved: and, besides, it is to be regretted that we are left in ignorance as to the specific editions of the three block-books in question, which were enclosed in this ancient binding. But, whatever the antiquity of the first block-books, which almost all writers are of opinion preceded the first attempts to print with moveable characters, it is certain that for many years after the invention of typography, the engravers in wood continued to publish works of this kind; in doing which they found their account; as no expensive apparatus was required in that mode of printing, and as, their blocks being once engraved, they could at any time take off as few or as many copies of their works as they chose, or had an immediate demand for.

Among the earliest productions of this kind, we may, I think, confidently place the work entitled, ‘*TEMPTATIONES DEMONIS,*’ &c. of which the upper part is carefully imitated in the annexed plate; and which altogether consists only of one large page, filling an entire side of a strong sheet of paper. Scriverius, in his book, printed in 1628, speaks of it particularly;<sup>46</sup> and it is something to be assured, that this and the other block-books which he describes, were preserved in Holland at that time. It is printed in a dark brown tint by friction with a rubber, which has been applied to it with so much force, as to cause the roughness in the surface which Scriverius notices.

Meerman (Tom. I. p. 239,) copies the description of Scriverius, observing, very properly, that the circumstance of this piece filling one side of an entire sheet of paper, shews it to be different from any

<sup>46</sup> I cite the Latin translation of *Wolffius*, Tom. I. p. 406-7. “Ad hæc vidi typis rudibus minusque politis Latine excusas quasdam ‘*Tentationes Dæmonis, tentantis hominem de septem peccatis mortalibus, et eorum ramis. Et Statim sequitur: Defensio boni Angeli custodis hominis, contra hæc Sacram Scripturam allegantis.*’ Hæc uni folio in plano, aut patente, ut ajunt, forma impressa sunt. Sordidum est opus, sed in quo prima artis rudimenta ac tentamina, ope atramenti impressorii recens inventi, non tantum observantur oculis, sed manibus quasi palpari possunt.”



of those temptations of the Devil, and exhortations of the Guardian Angel, which form parts of the 'block-book entitled *Ars Moriendi*.' Meerman seems never to have seen it, and to have been ignorant that it still existed: but it was in the collection of a gentleman of Amsterdam, when Mr. Koning wrote; who gives a copy of part of it in his work, erroneously supposing it to have belonged to some lost edition of the above-named block-book. At length this interesting piece found its way to England, and it is now in my own collection: no other copy of it appears to be known. Although it consists only of one page, it is certainly a complete work. I think there is reason to believe that it was engraved and published in Holland, and intended for the use of poor ecclesiastics of those times; that so, when preaching against this or that vice, they might be at no loss for texts of scripture condemnatory of it. It seems probable that it afforded the first idea for the '*Ars Moriendi*,' of which we have so many early editions; and this consideration inclines me to be of opinion that the first edition of that block-book is also to be ascribed to Holland.

With respect to the orthography, '*temptationes*,' in the above old wood-engraving, I shall only here observe, that the same is to be found in the '*Biblia Pauperum*,' and the '*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*,' and that the word is commonly so spelt in the earliest Latin manuscripts; witness the two most ancient manuscripts of Virgil, in the Vatican, and the celebrated manuscript of the same poet, in the Laurentian library at Florence.

I observed in my former work, that three of the block-books only appear to me to have any pretensions, as works of art: the '*Biblia Pauperum*,' the '*Historia seu Providentia Virginis Mariæ ex Cantico Canticorum*,' and the '*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*;' and that the '*Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ, ejusque Visiones Apocalypticæ*,' the '*Ars Moriendi*,' the '*Ars Memorandi*,' and all the other block-books which Heineken has so elaborately described, are evidently of another and very inferior school; and whether executed in Germany or in the Low Countries, were probably the performances of the card-makers. Since that work was written, I have seen more

of these block-books ; and I still adhere to the opinion, that a broad line of distinction separates the three first-mentioned works from all the others : for although the cuts of some of the latter works are sometimes very skilfully engraved, (as is especially the case with those of the edition of the '*Ars Moriendi*,' of which a copy is preserved at Haerlem), the designs are of a much ruder character, and were evidently prepared by artists of an inferior class.

Most of the late writers upon bibliography have taken upon trust all that Heineken has said relative to the early block-books. Nor is it surprising that authors, whose subject only led them, incidentally, to speak of engraving, should have thought themselves safe in relying upon his decisions ; since his writings are most or all of them, ostensibly, upon the subject of that art, and evince no small share of erudition ; besides that his account of the block-books is rich in curious details, which had escaped the observation of those who preceded him. But his knowledge of the arts of design, was far from being such as to render him a sure guide in matters of taste ; and he is often captivated with the worst, whilst he passes by, unnoticed, that which merits praise.

Had Lambinet examined the block-books, assisted by any one who had a knowledge of drawing, he would not have said of them, ('*Origine de l'Imprimerie*,' p. 62) 'that they are almost all alike : and that the figures represented in them are rudely done, in mere outline, in a gothic taste,' &c. He would have learned that the best of them are by no means rudely executed ; and he would have seen that the figures in most of them, and especially those in the '*Biblia Pauperum*,' the '*Book of Canticles*,' and the '*Speculum*,' are not in simple outline, but slightly and not inelegantly shaded by hatchings.





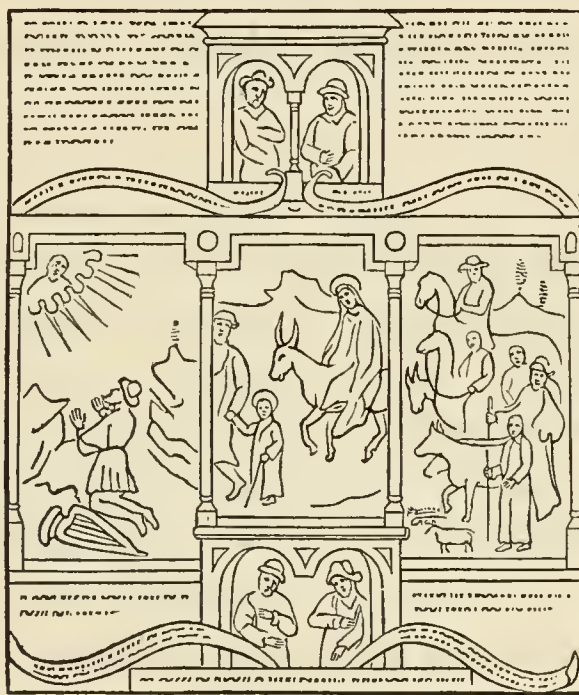
HISTORIAE VETERIS ET NOVI TESTAMENTI,  
SEU BIBLIA PAUPERUM.

Heineken begins his account of the block-books with the 'Biblia Pauperum;' without, however, warranting its being of greater antiquity than some of the rest; and, as I have already said, I am not without my suspicions that the book of the 'Apocalypse' may have somewhat preceded it.

This work consists of forty leaves of a small square folio size, printed by means of friction from engraved blocks of wood, on one side of the paper only; in which respect, as well as in the brown tint in distemper with which the prints are taken off, it resembles most of the other early block-books. These printed pages are placed two by two, facing each other; the second printed page being opposite to the first, the fourth to the third, and so on: by these means, the blank sides of the second and third leaves, the fourth and fifth, &c. become likewise opposed to each other, so that when they are pasted together (as was the custom, and as we often find them), the work

assumes the appearance of a book printed in the ordinary way on both sides the paper. The two printed pages which throughout the book face each other, occupy the same sheet of paper, and appear to have been printed from the same engraved block ; so that the entire work of forty pages, was engraved on twenty blocks. This mode abridged the labour of printing them, and I believe, was commonly practised in manufacturing works of this kind.

The prints differ a little in size ; being from nine inches and an half to ten inches and a quarter in height, by about seven inches and a half in breadth. Each print contains three scriptural subjects disposed, side by side, in compartments, and four half-length figures of prophets and other holy men in niches, two of them above, and two beneath the central subject, with appropriate inscriptions ; in the manner represented in the subjoined sketch :



The inscriptions, which are written in the Latin language, with rhythmical terminations, commence at the top of each print, in the vacancies on either side the two half-figures in niches, by the texts of the Bible from which the subjects are taken. The prophets and saints have underneath them their names ; and additional inscriptions, relative to the stories represented, are introduced on labels



and in other spaces below. The work, I conclude, was chiefly intended, like the 'Temptationes Demonis' above spoken of, for the use of the preachers of those times.

The central compartments represent the history of the New Testament; those on either side, stories from the Old Testament, typical of, or alluding to, the central subjects.

Thus, on one side 'the Annunciation,' in the first print, 'the Temptation of Eve' is represented; and on the other, 'Gideon with the Fleece.' Upon a scroll above, on the left, over the 'Temptation of Eve,' is this inscription: 'Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium;' and below, 'Vipera vim perdit, sine vi pariente puella:' lower down, upon another scroll, are the words: 'Porta hec clausa erit et non aperietur.' On the other side, in like manner, over the Gideon, is this inscription: 'Descendit dominus sicut pluvia in vellus;' lower down: 'Rore madet vellus pluviam sicut arida tellus;' and, at the bottom, the title of the principal subject: 'Virgo salutatur innupta manens gravidatur.'

Thus much may suffice to give a general idea of the plan and arrangement of the work. Each page, to guide the bookbinder in placing the sheets, is marked with a letter of the alphabet, immediately over the central subject. The first twenty pieces are marked **A** to **t**; after which a second alphabet commences for the last twenty; the letters of which are distinguished from those of the former, by being placed between two points, thus: **· a ·** I shall satisfy myself with briefly enumerating the subjects of the pages; referring the curious reader to my former work, or to the 'Idée Générale' of Heineken, for further particulars.

No. 1. **Æ**

Eve tempted by the  
Serpent.

The Annunciation.

Gideon with the Fleece.

2. **h**

Moses and the Burning  
Bush.

The Nativity.

Aaron's Rod producing  
a flower.

## 3. c

Abner visiting David at  
Hebron.The Adoration of the  
Magi.The Queen of Sheba's  
visit to Solomon.

## 4. d

The Presentation of the  
First-born in the Temple.

The Purification.

The Mother of Samuel  
dedicating him to the  
Service of the Temple.

## 5. e

Rebecca sending her Son  
Jacob to Laban.

The Flight into Egypt.

Michol assisting David  
to descend from the  
Window.

## 6. f

The Adoration of the  
Golden Calf.The sojourn of the Holy  
Family in Egypt, and  
the Destruction of the  
Idols.Dagon falling to the  
ground before the Ark.

## 7. g

Saul causing Abimelech  
and all the Priests to be  
beheaded.The Murder of the Inno-  
cents.The Prediction of the  
Death of the Sons of  
Eli.

The composition on the right, in this page, although not excellent as a whole, contains a figure of a woman with an infant in her arms, which possesses great beauty; and I have therefore caused it to be introduced as a head-piece to this article, together with the figure of an old man from the left hand compartment of page sixteen. Both these figures bear testimony to the artist's ability in designing drapery.

## 8. h

David consulting God  
respecting his Return  
after the death of Saul.The Return of the Holy  
Family from Egypt.The Return of Jacob to  
his own Country.

## 9. i

The Passage of the Red  
Sea.

John baptizing Christ.

The Two Spies bearing  
the Bunch of Grapes.

## 10. k

Esau selling his Birth-  
right.Christ tempted in the  
Wilderness.Adam and Eve seduced  
by the Serpent.



11. **l**

The Dead Body of the  
Widow's Son before  
Elijah.

The Resurrection of La-  
zarus.

The Widow's Son re-  
stored to Life by Elijah.

12. **m**

Abraham and the Three  
Angels.

The Transfiguration.

Shadrach, Meshach and  
Abednego, in the Fiery  
Furnace.

13. **n**

Nathan reproving David.

Mary Magdalen at the  
Feet of Jesus, in the  
House of the Pharisee.

Miriam, the Sister of  
Aaron, punished with  
Leprosy.

14. **o**

David with the Head of  
Goliah.

Christ's Entry into Jeru-  
salem.

The Children of the  
Prophets coming to meet  
Elijah.

15. **p**

Darius requested by  
Esdras to build the  
Temple.

Christ driving the Mo-  
ney-lenders out of the  
Temple.

Judas Maccabeus giving  
orders for the Purifica-  
tion of the Temple.

16. **q**

Joseph sent by his Fa-  
ther unto his Brethren.

Judas Iscariot proposing  
to the High Priest to  
betray Christ.

Absolam encouraging  
the People to rebel  
against his Father.

17. **r**

Joseph sold to the Ish-  
maelites.

Judas receiving the Thirty  
Pieces of Silver.

Joseph sold to Potiphar.

18. **s**

Melchisedec meeting  
Abram.

The last Supper.

The Manna falling from  
Heaven.

19. **t**

Micaiah prophesying the  
Death of Ahab.

Christ, after having  
washed his Disciples  
Feet, about to go to the  
Mount of Olives.

The Groom of King Jo-  
ram crushed to Death in  
the Gate.

20. **u**

The Five Foolish Virgins with their Lamps extinguished.

Christ in the Garden—the Soldiers sent to take him having fallen to the Ground.

The Fall of the Angels.

21. **• a •**

Abner treacherously killed by Joab.

Judas betraying Christ with a Kiss.

Tryphon's treacherous manner of taking Jonathan Captive.

22. **• h •**

Jezebel endeavouring to compass the Death of Elijah.

Pilate washing his Hands.

Daniel accused by the Babylonians.

23. **• t •**

Ham uncovering the Nakedness of his Father Noah.

Christ crowned with Thorns.

The Children mocking the Prophet Elijah.

24. **• d •**

Isaac carrying the Wood for his own Sacrifice.

Christ bearing the Cross.

The Widow of Sarepta holding two pieces of Wood in the form of a Cross.

25. **• e •**

The Sacrifice of Abraham.

Christ on the Cross, with the Madonna fainting.

The Brazen Serpent.

26. **• f •**

The Creation of Eve.

The Crucifixion, and the Soldier with the Spear which pierced our Saviour's side.

Moses striking the Rock.

27. **• g •**

Joseph let down into the Well.

The Entombment of Christ.

Jonah cast into the Sea.

28. **• h •**

David cutting off the head of Goliath.

Christ's Descent to Limbo.

Sampson killing the Lion.



## 29. · i ·

Sampson carrying off  
the Gates of Gaza.

The Resurrection of our  
Saviour.

Jonah vomited up from  
the Whale's Belly.

## 30. · k ·

Ruben searching for his  
Brother in the Well.

The Three Maries and  
the Angel at the Sepul-  
chre.

The Daughter of Sion  
seeking her Spouse.

## 31. · l ·

The King of Babylon  
giving orders to release  
Daniel from the Den of  
Lions.

Christ appearing to Mary  
Magdalen in the Gar-  
den.

The Daughter of Sion  
discovering her  
Spouse.

## 32. · m ·

Joseph discovering him-  
self to his Brethren.

Christ appearing to his  
Disciples.

The Return of the Pro-  
digal Son.

## 33. · n ·

The Angel appearing to  
Gideon.

The Incredulity of St.  
Thomas.

Jacob wrestling with the  
Angel.

## 34. · o ·

Enoch taken up into  
Heaven.

The Ascension.

Elijah received up into  
Heaven.

## 35. · p ·

Moses receiving the  
Tables of the Law.

The Descent of the Holy  
Ghost upon the Apos-  
tles.

Elijah's Sacrifice con-  
sumed by Fire from  
Heaven.

The subject in the centre is by no means inelegantly composed.  
It is copied in the "Bibliotheca Spenceriana," Vol. I. p. xxvii.

## 36. · q ·

Solomon causing his  
Mother to sit by his side.

The Coronation of the  
Virgin.

Esther and Ahasuerus.

## 37. · r ·

The Judgment of  
Solomon.

The Last Judgment.

The Amalekite, who  
slew Saul, killed by  
the order of David.

## 38. · g ·

The Destruction of Korah, Datham and Abiram.

Hell.

Sodom destroyed by Fire from Heaven.

Dr. Dibdin has also inserted a fac-simile of the centre subject of this leaf, at p. xxviii. of the work above-mentioned. It is worthy of remark that the subject is treated in a manner very similar to one of the alto-relievos of Niccola or Giovanni Pisano, on the façade of the Duomo at Orvieto, executed about 1300.

## 39. · t ·

The Feast of the Children of Job.

Christ bearing the Souls of the blessed in his Mantle.

Jacob's Vision of the Ladder.

The front figure of Christ, in the compartment in the centre, has a considerable share of grandeur. It is introduced at p. xxix. of the above work of Dr. Dibdin. The design of "Jacob's Vision of the Ladder," which also possesses merit, will be found copied at page 126 of my own former work.

## 40. · u ·

The Daughter of Sion crowned by her Spouse.

The Reward of the Righteous. Christ is about to place a Crown upon the Head of a Person who is kneeling before him.

St. John listening to the converse of an Angel.

This last leaf is copied entire in Heineken, "Idée Générale," p. 393. I have here given the two figures of St. John and the Angel, which are remarkable for their sober dignity of style, and of themselves are enough to shew that the person who made the designs for this work, merited in his time the appellation of master.





Of this work, in forty pieces, with the text in the Latin language, Heineken describes four different editions, besides another, augmented by ten prints, which he terms the fifth edition. He declares himself, however, unable to determine which is the earliest.

“ If,” says he, “ I place them one after the other, it is only to explain the difference between them ; for I must candidly confess, that I neither know which is the original, nor the epoch of either of the five. The engravers have copied each other with such exactness in preparing these editions,” (he speaks here of the four first editions with forty prints) “ that there is very little difference between one and the other : but there is some ; and those who examine them carefully, stroke by stroke, will find several small variations ; although the design, and the manner of engraving, are the same.”

Heinecken then points out certain marks by which these different editions are to be distinguished ; for which I refer the reader to his '*Idée Générale*,' or to my own former work.

With respect to the close resemblance which Heinecken observed in the four editions of the '*Biblia Pauperum*,' with forty pages, (and I am not without my doubts that the work may have been copied even oftener than he supposed), I shall offer a few words, which will be found applicable also to several of the other block-books.

It was the custom of the ancient wood-engravers, to glue the design they were to copy, with its face downwards, upon the prepared block : the paper was then rendered transparent, perhaps by oiling it, so that every part could be distinctly seen through ; and they then cut through the paper, hollowing out the block in all those parts where no lines of the pen or pencil appeared, which completed the work ; the surface of the block then presenting in relief every line and touch of the original drawing.

Upon a first consideration, this process of the wood-engraver may seem to have been merely mechanical. But it required great correctness of eye, and delicacy of hand ; and with all the care he could take, if to these qualifications he did not join a competent knowledge of drawing—aye, and sufficient intelligence and taste to enable him to appreciate the beauties of the original design upon which he was working—he would be sure on many occasions to make blunders, especially in engraving the features of the faces, the hands, and other delicate parts. It is reasonable to suppose that the cuts for the original editions of the block-books were engraved by the most skilful wood-engravers that could be found, under the superintendence and advice (occasional at least) of the artist who prepared the designs. With all this, the performance of the wood-engraver was but an imitation, a copy, of the performance of the designer ; and we must conclude that, in some parts, at least, it failed to do it justice. The process above described was, in like manner, employed, when a block-book was to be copied : the engraver glued the different pages composing it—or rather sheets, each containing two pages—upon prepared



blocks of wood ; and in proportion to the talent possessed, and the diligence employed by him, imitated what was before him. But his work, which was but the copy of a copy, would necessarily fail in some parts where the original edition, or first copy, was not defective ; and, hence, a copy of a work of this kind cannot but exhibit imperfections and errors, here and there, from which the original edition, whence it was copied, is exempt ; and if the copyist was a wood-engraver of an inferior class, these errors and imperfections will be proportionally augmented.

If, therefore, a person, well conversant with drawing, had the opportunity of comparing together all the different editions of the ‘Biblia Pauperum,’ he would, I think, be at little loss to determine which was the original. A copy of the edition which Heineken places first, is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford : but I am satisfied that this is not the first edition ; and, as far as I have seen, I incline to the opinion that the edition of which Earl Spencer possesses a copy, and which corresponds rather (though not exactly) with Heineken’s description of the second edition, is really the first. When I come to speak of the ‘Speculum Humanæ Salvationis,’ I shall state a few particulars which shew, I think, that one of the wood-engravers who executed the cuts of Earl Spencer’s edition of the ‘Biblia Pauperum,’ did also some of those of the ‘Book of Canticles,’ and of the ‘Speculum.’ It will be shewn that the last-mentioned work was certainly engraved and printed in Holland : the two others, therefore, we may conclude, were executed in that country.



HISTORIA SEU PROVIDENTIA VIRGINIS MARIÆ,  
EX CANTICO CANTICORUM.

Such is the title given by Heinecken to a small square folio volume composed of thirty-two subjects taken from the Book of Canticles, and printed by friction, four designs on each sheet, on one side of the paper only. The leaves, like those of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' are intended to be pasted back to back, and, as in that work, the contents of each two pages—the first and second, the third and fourth, &c. — were engraved on one and the same block ; so that the entire series of thirty-two subjects was printed from eight engraved blocks. This, as I observed in my former work, is proved in the first two pages of Earl Spencer's copy ; where, near the bottom of the two upper subjects, the block appears to have been broken in two, in a horizontal direction—after it was engraved—and joined together again, although not with such exactness but that the traces of the operation clearly shew



themselves ; and the traces of a similar accident are still more apparent in the last block, containing the four last subjects.

The designs in this work are interspersed with passages of the sacred text in Latin, engraved in large characters on scrolls fantastically disposed amongst the figures ; a circumstance which gives to the whole performance a very singular appearance, and no doubt occasioned Heinecken, who was blind to its real merits, to term it “ the most Gothic of all the block-books.” Heinecken mentions two editions of this book ; the first, of course, in his opinion, engraved and published in Germany ; the second, copied from it in Holland or Flanders : but, after having very carefully compared the two editions together, (which I had not the opportunity of doing when I wrote my former work) I feel myself fully justified in asserting, that the edition, which he styles the original, is no other than an abominable copy, executed, I do not pretend to say where, by a wood-engraver of a very inferior class ; one of those whose abilities only fitted him to work for the ordinary card makers.

The cuts, in the genuine original edition, on the contrary, are full of beauties ; the figures have a lightness and gracefulness of character, which distinguish them from those of all the other block-books I am acquainted with, and proclaim the designer of them to have been the Parmigianino of his school. Nor are the abilities of the wood-engravers employed, less conspicuous, (for the hand of two distinct artists, at least, is clearly to be perceived in some parts, especially in the trees in the back-grounds), the faces and extremities of the figures, and indeed every other part, being executed with the greatest delicacy and intelligence.

I consider this work to be of the same school as the “ *Biblia Pauperum*,” but somewhat less ancient. The conical shape of the trees, and the manner of expressing the foliage of them by short strokes, ranged over each other in a horizontal direction, and of indicating the clumps of herbage by a few strokes, placed perpendicular in the middle, and diverging at each side, is the same in both :—every thing testifies that both are the productions of artists who had gone





1771  
 utra si fuit nō mutatur Quid quā terna  
 impio unūq; sepius uon in am tantū sed etiā in bo ei  
 boi si slabā mittit interdū it. Itā corceptā nō hao. e  
 rit sed pductā ut eo id ibo qo qe qbo eā f queā  
 utra vboz qū sunt quinq; q actiā passiua neutra cōi  
 a deponētia Actiua q sunt q in o desinunt a accepta  
 sū faciunt ex se passiua ut lego legor Passiua q sunt  
 q in e desinūt a ea depta cedūt in actiua ut legor lego  
 Neutra q sunt q in o desinunt ut actiua sed accepta r  
 littera latina nō sunt ut sto curro nā sto: curro: nō  
 dicuntur p. m. pterea neutro passiua ut gaudeo gaui s  
 sum solent. huius sum hio sic facit? sum mero mest? su  
 Depo. q sunt q in r desinūt ut passiua s; ea dep  
 iantia nō sunt ut luctor loquor lequor nascor a ori  
 Communia q sunt q in r similiter desinūt ut depom  
 sed in duas formas cadūt passivis a agētis ut osculor  
 criminor dicim? eū osculor te osculor a te arimior te cri  
 minor a te Nūmeri vboz quā sunt duo q singlāis ut  
 lego plis ut legim? Figur vboz quod sunt due q sim  
 ple ut lego composita ut negligo Tpa vboz qū sunt  
 tria q pīs ut lego pīt ut legi futuz ut legā Quid  
 sunt tpa in dedinacōn? vboz qū q pīs ut lego pīt  
 nī ipferū ut legebā pīt pīt ut legi hē pīt q pīt  
 ut legē futuz ut legā Personē vboz qū q pīt ut legi  
 que pīma ut lego secunda ut legi tertia ut legi  
 Duerbiū quid est pars oracōis q adiecta ut  
 significacōne eius explanat atq; ipi Aduerbio q

Dit is die voetsienicheu va marie der mod godes En is gehere in lanj rāti



word tua vmo:



vmo:





through the same routine of study, and thereby acquired the same systematic mode of characterizing particular objects. Nay, I think that the hand of the same identical wood-engraver, is very clearly to be traced in some of the cuts of the “*Biblia Pauperum*,” (I speak of the edition of which Earl Spencer has a copy) and in some of those of the work under consideration, and, again, in several of the vignettes of the “*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*,” as will be shewn more particularly when I come to speak of that work.

The Hotel de Ville at Haerlem, possesses an incomplete copy of the original edition : immediately over the first design is the following Dutch or Flemish inscription, engraved in wood :

“ *Dit is die voersienicheit vā Mariē der moeder Godes. En is geheten in Latin cantic.*”

Heineken insists that ‘ this inscription proves the copy at Haerlem to be of a later edition than the other ; and I confess that I formerly had my suspicions that it had been added long after the cuts themselves were printed. But this is not the case ; the Dutch title is taken off in the same brown tint as the rest of the work, and appeared to me, when I examined this copy a few years ago, to have been certainly printed at the same time, and by the same operation, as the cuts themselves.

Very lately, I have seen another copy entire, which belonged to the late Mr. Heber, and has the same Dutch title.<sup>47</sup> This copy, which is perhaps the same of which Scriverius speaks, was, I understand, brought to this country from Holland, some years ago, by Mr. Sotheby. Both these copies are decidedly ancient, as is evident from the quality of the paper, and the paper-marks ; and were probably printed not long after the cuts were engraved. It is true that Earl Spencer’s copy of this work, although printed from the same blocks, is without the Dutch title. If this copy (which also appears genuine and ancient) was taken off before the two copies above described, then must the

<sup>47</sup> It was purchased at Mr. Heber’s sale by Messrs. Payne and Foss, who have obligingly intrusted it to me for some days for the purpose of examination.



Dutch inscription of one line, have been added, by glueing a piece to the first block of the series, very soon after the cuts were executed ; if afterwards, then must this inscription have been cut away, shortly after the first publication of the book, in consequence, perhaps, of its having been thought, upon after consideration, ill suited to a work with text in the Latin language. That this last supposition is the true one, is, I think, satisfactorily proved, by the fact above-mentioned ; viz. that in Earl Spencer's copy, the first two pages exhibit evidence that before that sheet was printed, the block had been broken in two, horizontally, near the bottom of the *two* upper subjects, and joined together again. For, in Mr. Heber's copy, which is now before me, the upper subject of the first page shews no mark of fracture whatever ; although in the lower part of the design opposite to it, that is the upper subject of the second page, a white horizontal line may be perceived extending from the right-hand edge to more than four-fifths the width of the page, as if the block had indeed begun to split, but had not yet separated into two pieces. A facsimile of the above Dutch title, taken from Mr. Heber's copy, will be found at the bottom of one of the latter plates of this work.

I shall not attempt to describe these prints individually ; for, as the chief actors in most of them are the same, they of course a good deal resemble one another ; besides that it might be no easy task, to give to each of these allegorical representations its true interpretation. Suffice it to observe, that all those passages in the Book of Canticles which we consider typical, or prophetic of Christ's love for his Church, are considered by the pious authors of this work as applicable to the Virgin Mary, who, of consequence, is a principal figure in each of the engravings.

It has been already stated, that the figures in these designs are illustrated by passages of the Latin text on scrolls. I shall mention the number of scrolls on the different pieces, and the first words of the inscriptions they contain, as the readiest mode of distinguishing them ; besides which, I shall point out, as I go along, a few marks distinguishing the copies from the originals.



latina non sunt ut luctor loquor sequor nascor & ori  
 or Communia que sunt que in e similiter declinant  
 ut deponere utia sed in duas formas cadunt patientis &  
 agens ut osculor criminor didimus enim osculor te  
 osculor a te criminor te criminor a te Numeri verborum  
 quos sunt duo qui singularis ut lego pluralis ut te  
 gemus Figure verborum quos sunt due que simplex  
 ut lego composita ut negligo Tempora verborum  
 quos sunt tria que presentis ut lego presentis ut legi futurum  
 legam Quos sunt tempora in inclinatione verborum  
 quinque que presentis ut lego presentis imperfectum ut legi  
 habam presentis perfectum ut legi perfectum ut legimus  
 futurum ut legam Personae verborum quos sunt tres

**E** prima ut lego secunda ut legis tertia ut leg  
 Duerbiū quid est pars orationis que adiecta verbo  
 significationem eius explanat atque implet Aduerbia  
 quos accidunt tria que significatio comparatio & figure  
 significationis aduerbiorum in quo est quia sunt adue  
 bia aut loci aut temporis aut numeri aut negandi aut  
 mandandi aut demonstrandi aut optandi aut hortandi aut  
 orationis aut interrogandi aut similitudinis aut  
 litatis aut quantitatatis aut dubitandi aut personalia  
 vocandi aut respondendi aut separandi aut inveniendi  
 eligendi aut congregandi aut prohibendi aut cetera  
 aut comparandi Da aduerbiū loci ut hic pater  
 inde intro ut foras Da temporis ut hodie heremum  
 nas aliquando olim tunc cum dux tam semper mane in

que prima ut lego secunda ut legis tertia ut legis  
 Duerbiū quid est. pars orationis que adiecta verbo  
 significationem eius explanat atque implet Aduerbio est





## Block Design

- I. 1. This composition is illustrated by two inscriptions on scrolls. The first is as follows: *Osculetur me osculo oris sui: quia meliora sunt ubera tua vino.* (Cant. cap. i. v. 1.) In the copy which Heinecken calls the First Edition, the word *vino* is erroneously written *viro*. The second scroll has this inscription: *Veni in ortum,<sup>48</sup> meum soror mea sponsa, messui mirrham meam cum aromatibus meis:* (cap. v. v. 1.) In the other edition the word *messui* is written *mesiin*.
2. Two scrolls—on the first: *Caput tuum ut Carmelus: Colum tuum sicut turris eburnea* (cap. vii. v. 4. 5.) The inscription on the second scroll begins thus: *Nigra sum sed formosa, filie Jerusalem, &c.* (cap. i. v. 4.) This leaf is copied on a reduced scale in Heinecken, (*Idée Générale*, p. 374.)
3. There are two scrolls also in this print. The first is inscribed: *Trahe me: post te curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum* (cap. ii. v. 14.) The second: *Sonet vox tua in auribus meis: &c.* In both the editions the first letter in the word *curremus* is erroneously represented like a *t*, instead of a *c*.
4. This has also two scrolls, the inscriptions on which commence: *En dilectus meus loquitur mihi: Surge, &c.* (cap. ii. v. 10.) and *Quam pulcra es amica, &c.* (cap. iv. v. 1.)
- II. 5. Two scrolls—on the first: *Qualis est dilectus tuus, &c.* (cap. v. v. 9.) The second scroll begins: *Dilectus, meus candidus, &c.* (cap. v. v. 10.) In the original edi-

<sup>48</sup> I have given the orthography, as nearly as I could, as it is in the original. The H, as in the word Hortum, is generally omitted: the letter i is frequently substituted for the y, and the y for the i: the diphthong æ, as in filiæ, is constantly written with the e alone.



Block Design

## II.

tion, the pointed hill in the back ground is surmounted by a windmill, which is omitted in the copy. The original cut has also two trees in the distance behind the Madonna, the copy only one.

6. There is only one scroll in this composition : the inscription begins : *Adjuro vos filie Jerusalem, per capreas cervosque, &c.*—In the other edition the word *capreas* is written *capitas* : in both the editions we have *tervosque* instead of *cervosque*. There are seven trees in the back ground, in the original cut ; the copyist has introduced only four of them.
7. This composition has two scrolls. The inscription in the first begins : *Erunt verba* (not *ubera* as in the Vulgate) *tua sicut botri vinee, &c.* (cap. vii. v. 8.) The other edition has also the word *verba*. The second inscription begins : *Botrus cipri dilectus meus mihi, &c.* (cap. i. v. 13.) The original cut has a tree, behind the sitting figures of Christ and the Virgin, which is omitted in the copy.
8. There are three scrolls in this composition. The first words on them are : *Ortus conclusus est, &c.* (cap. iv. v. 12.) *Fons ortorum puteus aquarum, &c.* (cap. iv. v. 15.) *Surge, &c.* Behind the figure of Christ, a tree is introduced in the background, in the original print, which is omitted in the copy ; and the four beautiful little angels, standing as guards, have each a cross over the head, in the former, which is wanting in the latter.

- III. 9. The figures in this composition are less incommoded by the scrolls, than is the case in most of the others ; for which reason I caused it to be copied entire in my former work. It has two inscriptions : *Dilectus meus*

Block Design

- mihi, et ego illi, qui pascitur inter lylia.* (cap. ii. v. 16.)  
*Ego flos campi, et lylum convallium.* (cap. ii. v. 1.)
10. There are two scrolls in this composition also. *Pulchre sunt gene tue, &c.* (cap. i. v. 9.) *Leva ejus sub capite meo, &c.* (cap. viii. v. 3.)
11. This has also two inscriptions on scrolls; the first commences: *Que habitas in ortis, &c.* (cap. viii. v. 13.) *Omnia nova et vetera, &c.*
12. There are no less than seven scrolls, containing the same number of inscriptions, interspersed amongst the figures in this composition: this circumstance gives it a very singular appearance, and much diminishes the effect of the figures, which, though of very small dimensions, are extremely beautiful. I shall content myself with giving the beginning of two or three of the inscriptions: *Quo abiit dilectus tuus, &c.* (cap. v. v. 17.) *Si Hostium est compingamus illud, &c.* (taken from cap. viii. v. 10, but altered.) *Vulnerasti cor meum, &c.* (cap. iv. v. 9.)
- IV. 13. Two scrolls: *Descendi in hortum meum, &c.* (cap. vi. v. 10.) *Talis est dilectus meus, &c.* (cap. v. v. 16.) The original piece has four figures; namely Christ, the Madonna, and two female attendants, who are standing within a circular inclosure. The copy omits the enclosure, and gives only the first two figures; besides which it introduces only two trees, instead of five.
14. Two scrolls: *Aperi mihi soror mea, &c.* (cap. v. v. 2.) *Pes-sulum Hostii mei, &c.* (cap. v. v. 6.)
15. Two scrolls: *Indica mihi quem diligit, &c.* (cap. i. v. 6.) *Si ignoras te ô pulchra, &c.* (cap. i. v. 7.) The original cut has a goat and three sheep; one of the sheep is omitted in the copy.
16. Two scrolls: *Anima mea liquefacta est, &c.* (cap. v. v. 6.)



## Block Design

*Statura* (it is written *Cratura* or *Gratura* in both the editions) *tua assimilata est palmæ et ubera tua botris.* (cap. vii. v. 7.)

- V. 17. Two scrolls : *Quis mihi det te fratrem, &c.* (cap. viii. v. 1.)  
*Ecce quam pulchra es, &c.* (cap. vii. v. 6.)
18. Two scrolls : *Favus distillans labia tua, &c.* (cap. iv. v. 11.)  
*Comedi favum cum melle meo, bibi vinum meum cum lacte meo :* (cap. v. v. 1.) Mr. Dibdin has inserted part of this composition in the first volume of his *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, p. xxxix.
19. There are three scrolls in this composition : *Si dederit homo omnem substantiam suam pro dilectione, &c.* (cap. viii. v. 7.) *Lampades ejus sicut Lampades ignis, &c.* (cap. viii. v. 6.) *Aque multa non potuerunt extinguere charitatem :* (cap. viii. v. 7.)
20. Two scrolls : *Que est ista que ascendit de deserto, &c.* (cap. viii. v. 5.) *Ista est speciosa, &c.* The figure of the Virgin carried up to heaven by an eagle, is copied at p. xi. of the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*. In this cut and the one over it, the design extends at least a quarter of an inch further on the right, than it does in the copies.
- VI. 21. Two scrolls. *Ecce dilecto meo et ad me conversio, &c.* (cap. vii. v. 10.) *Revertere, revertere sulamitis, &c.* (cap. vi. v. 12.) In this piece and the one under it, the design is continued half an inch further on the left side than it is in the copies.
22. Two scrolls. *Quam pulchre sunt gressus tue, &c.* *Vadā ad montem mirre, &c.* On a mount, in the distance, appears the figure of Christ on the Cross, which, though of very minute dimensions, is drawn in every

Block Design

VI. part with the greatest intelligence, and is full of expression.

23. Three scrolls. *Dilecti mi, egridiamur in agrum, &c.* (cap. vii. v. 11.) *Madragore odorem dederunt in portis nostris.* (cap. vii. v. 13.) *Videamus si floruit vinea, &c.* (cap. vii. v. 12.) The figures in this design are prettily disposed. The group is copied in my former work.

24. In this compartment there is but one scroll. *Fasciculus mirre dilectus meus mihi, &c.* (cap. i. v. 12.) The virgin is represented supporting a crucifix.

VII. 25. Two scrolls. *Surgam et circuibo civitatem, &c.* (cap. iii. v. 2.) *Percusserunt et vulneraverunt me, &c.* There are no less than twelve small figures in this composition, independent of the two armed men on horseback, which Dr. Dibdin has inserted at p. xli. of his *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*. They are all of them executed with surprising delicacy; especially the four half figures of a Pope, two Cardinals, and a Bishop, who are represented each with a sword and a shield, and whose heads are full of character and expression. I speak, of course, of the original edition, for in the copy, these heads are far from meriting this praise. At the bottom of this piece is a castellated wall with four round towers. In the original cut each of these towers has a small round window, which is omitted in the copy.

26. Two scrolls. The inscription on one of them does not appear to have been taken from any verse in the Canticles, and begins;—*Comedite amici et bibite, &c.* The other inscription is;—*Guttur illius sicut vinum optimum, dignum dilecto meo ad potandum.* (cap. vii. v. 9.) Christ appears seated at a table, together with the Virgin Mary and three female attendants: on the table are



Block Design

## VII.

four chalices and three consecrated wafers. The bench on which the figures are seated, in the original print, has a back to it, ornamented at top with trefoils, which the copyist appears not to have noticed, and therefore to have omitted.

27. Two scrolls. *Tota pulchra es amica mea, &c.* (cap. iv. v. 7.) *Tenui eum, nec dimittam, &c.* (cap. iii. v. 4.) In the original piece, the bed on the right, extends near half an inch further than it does in the copy.
28. Two scrolls. *Ecce pulchra es amica mea, &c.* (cap. i. v. 14.) *Ecce tu pulcher es dilecte mi, et decorus. Lectulus noster floridus.* (cap. i. v. 15.) The figures in this piece are very prettily grouped; and I have therefore caused them to be introduced in the head-piece to this article, as a specimen of the style of the work. In the original cut, upon the bed on the right, are seventeen roses; the copy has only sixteen.

- VIII. 29. This composition has three scrolls. *Mille clypei pendent, &c.* (cap. iv. v. 4.) *Ego murus: et ubera mea sicut turris, &c.* (cap. viii. v. 10.) *Collum tuum sicut turris, que edificata est cum propugnaculis.* (cap. vii. v. 4, and cap. iv. v. 4.) In this composition are two figures of angels, the draperies of which are admirable. They will be found copied in my former work.
30. Two scrolls. *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat.* (cap. v. v. 2.) *In lectulum salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt, omnes tenentes gladios.* (cap. iii. v. 7, 8.) The group of warriors, standing behind the bed, is highly interesting by the varieties of armour, of which it furnishes specimens.
31. Two scrolls. *Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum.* (cap. viii. v. 6.) *Euge dilecte, &c.* Christ and the Madonna

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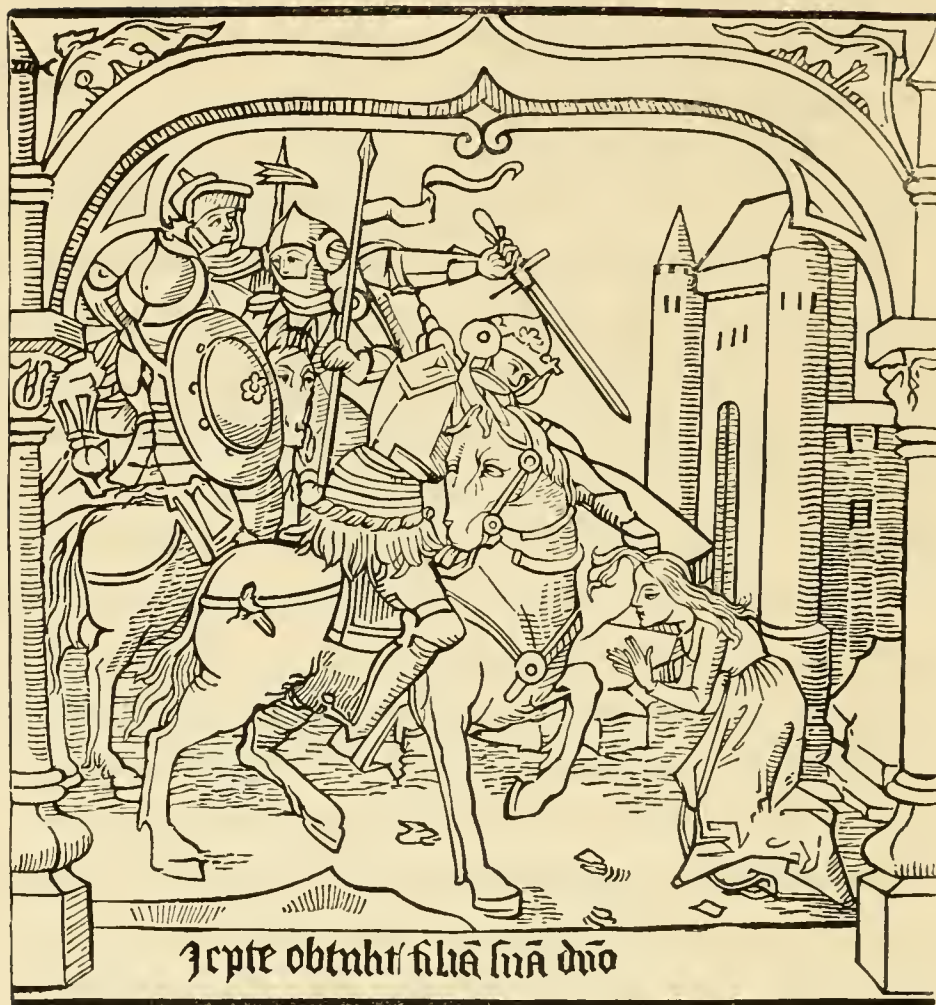
VIII. are here represented supporting a large seal or stamp, on which is designed the mystery of the Trinity.

32. Two scrolls. *Species ejus ut lybani, electus ut cedri, talis est dilectus meus.* (cap. v. v. 15, 16.) *Veni de lybano sponsa mea veni de lybano, veni coronaberis.* The figure of Christ, who is represented about to crown the Madonna, is copied in my former work. In the original edition, this piece has in the back ground five trees : the copy has but three.

It is proper to observe, that in the edition of this work which Heineken erroneously styles the first, some of the sheets are placed in a different order from the above. In the copy which he describes, the first two sheets, containing Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, are placed as in the copy before us ; next come the two pages which I have described under Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20 ; after these follow Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, and then Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24 ; these are followed by the sheet containing Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16 ; and lastly come the four pages, with Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32. I shall not attempt to account for this arrangement of the pages, so different from that of the original edition ; but I thought it necessary to notice the circumstance, as the copy in the Bodleian Library, like that of Mr. Verdussen at Antwerp, is arranged conformably to Heineken's list (" *Idée Générale*," p. 374.). I must not omit to observe, that the Bodleian copy has been newly bound, and that each leaf is pasted down on paper of larger dimensions, in the ordinary way of mounting prints, as is also the case in a copy in the British Museum. Both these copies are rudely coloured ; and in fact, as I before said, I have little doubt that this edition was the work of an ordinary card-maker.



## CHAPTER X.



### SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS.

The great importance of this volume, in the controversy we are inquiring into, renders it incumbent upon us to examine it with scrupulous diligence. It has been already more than once stated, that we have four ancient editions of it in folio ; two with the text in Latin, and two in the Dutch language, and that the same identical wood-engravings are employed in all of them ; and besides this we have seen that Veldener afterwards printed two editions in quarto, orna-

mented with the same vignettes, each cut into two. The Latin editions have sixty-three leaves, five of which are devoted to the preface; but in the Dutch editions the whole is included in sixty-two leaves, the preface filling only four leaves.

After the preface, in all these editions, the remaining fifty-eight leaves are ornamented at top by wood-engravings of an oblong form, each divided in the middle, by a slight Gothic pillar, into two compartments; so that each cut contains two designs. These designs for the most part, represent stories of the Old or New Testament; and each has underneath it a Latin inscription of one line, engraved on the same block, independently of the text, which is printed in two columns, under the two subjects, and occupies the remainder of the page. The leaves are printed only on one side, and the printed pages face one another, as in the block-books above described; the contents of each two pages forming a chapter: the work therefore, in these editions in folio, consists of twenty-nine chapters. The cuts are taken off in a brown tint in distemper, in the way so often mentioned; the text, except the twenty pages of block print in one of the editions, is printed with black printing ink and a press.

But these editions do not contain the entire work. In the ancient manuscripts of the *Speculum Salvationis*, the work is composed of a preface and forty-five chapters, in prose Latin, with rhythmical terminations to the lines. The preface contains a short account of the contents of the chapters. In each chapter, one principal subject is proposed; but three others, which the author considered allusive to the principal subject, are afterwards introduced. The subjects, for the most part, are taken from the Bible, or from the traditional history of the church; but some of them are selected from profane history. The three last chapters have, each of them, eight subjects. Thus Heineken informs us that, in the illuminated manuscripts of this work, he invariably found that every chapter was ornamented with two paintings, each divided into two compartments, and containing two subjects; except the three last chapters, which had each of them four paintings, or eight subjects. The work therefore, when complete, should contain the designs of one hundred and ninety two sub-



jects ; whereas the first printed editions of the Speculum have only fifty-eight cuts, or one hundred and sixteen designs.

It will be seen in the following list of the contents of the chapters, (in which I have thought it advisable to give the whole) that as far as the 24th chapter, inclusive, our ancient printed editions exactly correspond with the manuscript copies. Each cut, as has been said, contains two historical representations, with short Latin inscriptions underneath them, explanatory of their subjects. They are placed in the following order.

## CAP. I.

Cut.

1. *The Fall of Lucifer.*  
Casus Luciferi.

*The Creation of Eve.*  
Deus creavit hominem ad ymaginem  
et similitudinem suam.

Heinecken has given a copy of this print in his *Idée Générale*, p. 443. It is also copied in Meerman.

2. *Adam and Eve forbidden to eat of the Tree of Knowledge.* *Eve deceived by the Serpent.*

De omni ligno paradisi comeditis. Nequaquam moriemini sed eritis sicut discernentes, &c.

## CAP. II.

3. *Adam and Eve eating the forbidden Fruit.* *Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise.*

Mulier deceptit virum ut secum comederet. Angelus expulit eos de paradiso gladio ignito.

4. *Adam digging the Ground, and Eve spinning.* *The Ark of Noah.*

Hic Adam operatur terram in sudore vultus sui. Archa Noe.

A copy of the left hand compartment will be found in my former work.

## CAP. III.

5. *The Birth of the Virgin predicted.* *King Astiages sees the Vineyard in a Vision.*

Hic annunciatur ortus Marie. Rex Astrages mirabile vidit somp-  
nium.

6. *The Garden and the Fountain,  
emblematic of the Holy Virgin.*

Ortus conclusus fons signatus.

*Balaam and his Ass.*

Balam prenunciavit ortum marie in  
stella.

#### CAP. IV.

7. *The Nativity of the Virgin.*  
Nativitas gloriose virginis Marie.

*The Genealogical Tree of Christ.*  
Egredietur virga de radice Yesse.

8. *The Gate of a City, closed, another Emblem of the Virgin Mary.*

Clausula porta significat beatam virginem mariam.

*The Temple of Solomon.*

Templum Salomonis significat beatam mariam.

#### CAP. V.

9. *The Offering of the Virgin in the Temple.*

Maria (oblata) est domino in templo.

*The Offering of the Table of Gold in the Temple of the Sun.*

Mensa aurea oblata est in templo solis.

10. *Jephtha sacrificing his Daughter in fulfilment of his Vow to the Lord.*

Jepte obtulit filiam suam domino.

*The Queen Semiramis on the Top of a Tower.*

Regina persarum contemplabatur patriam suam in orto suspensili.

The composition of the compartment on the left is very spirited. It is inserted as a head-piece to this article.

#### CAP. VI.

11. *The Marriage of the Virgin.*

Hic virgo maria desponsata Joseph.

*The Marriage of Sarah and Tobit.*

Hic Zara desponsatur Thobie juniore.

12. *A Tower, upon which are two Men blowing Trumpets.*

Hec turris dicta baris significat mariam.

*A City, to the walls of which are attached many Shields.*

Hec turris david de qua pendebant mille clypei.

#### CAP. VII.

13. *The Annunciation.*

Hic annuntiatur ihesus per angelum virgini marie.

*Moses and the Burning Bush.*

Dominus apparuit moysi in rubo ardenti.



14. *Gideon and the Fleece.* *Rebecca giving Drink to the Servant of Abraham.*

Vellus gedeonis repletum etiam terra sicca manente. Rebecca nuncio abrahe potum tribuebat.

## CAP. VIII.

15. *The Nativity of our Saviour.* *The Cup-bearer of Pharaoh sees the Vineyard in a Vision.*

Nativitas domini nostri ihesu christi. Pincerna pharaonis vidit in sompnis vineam.

16. *Aaron's Rod.* *The Sybil shewing to Augustus the Image of the Virgin.*

Virga aaron floruit contra naturam virtute divina. Sybilla vidit virginem cum puero.

## IX.

17. *The Adoration of the Magi.* *The Three Magi seeing the Star.*

Tres magi adorant puerum cum muneribus. Tres magi viderunt novam stellam in oriente.

18. *The Three Warriors bringing the Water of the Cistern to David.*

Tres fortes attulerunt david regi aquam de cisterna. Thronus salomonis.

## CAP. X.

19. *The Presentation in the Temple.* *The Ark of the Old Testament.*

Maria obtulit filium suum in templo. Archa testamenti significat mariam.

20. *The Candlestick in the Temple of Solomon.* *The Infant Samuel devoted to the Lord.*

Candelabrum templi Salominis. Puer Samuel oblatus est domino.

## CAP. XI

21. *The Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt, and the Destruction of the Idols.* *The Egyptians adoring the Image of the Holy Virgin.*

Omnia ydola corruerunt intrante ihesu in egiptum. Egiptii fecerunt imaginem virginis cum puero.

22. *The young Moses breaking in Pieces the Crown of Pharaoh.* *Nebuchadnezzar seeing the Vision of the Statue.*

Moyse projectit coronam Pharaonis et fregit. Nabugodnasur vidit statuam in sompno.

## CAP. XII.

23. *The Baptism of Christ.**The Vessel of Brass in which the Jews washed themselves upon entering into the Temple.*

Jhesus baptisatus est a johanne in jordan.

Mare eneum in quo ingressuri in templum lavebantur.

24. *Naaman cured of his Leprosy.**The Ark carried over the River Jordan.*

Naaman leprosus (lavit) septies et mundatus est.

Jordanus siccatus est in transitu filiorum dei.

## CAP. XIII.

25. *The Temptation of Christ.**Daniel destroying the Image of Bel, and killing the Dragon.*

Cristus triplicitur fuit temptatus a dyabolo.

Daniel destruxit bel, et interfecit draconem.

26. *David killing Goliah.**David killing the Bear, and the Lion.*

David superavit goliath philisteum.

David interfecit ursam et leonem.

## CAP. XIV.

27. *Mary Magdalen at the Feet of Christ.**The King Manasses in Captivity.*

Magdalena penituit in domo symonis.

Manasses egit penitentiam in captivitate.

28. *The Return of the Prodigal Son.**Natham reproaching David with his Sins.*

Pater familias filium prodigum suscepit.

David de adulterio redargutus penituit.

## CAP. XV.

29. *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.**Jeremiah upon a Tower, lamenting the Fate of Jerusalem.*

Cristus flevit super civitatem jherusalem.

Jeremias lamentabatur super jherusalem.

30. *The Triumph of David.**Heliodorus beaten with Rods.*

David susceptus est cum laudibus.

Helyodorus flagellabatur.



## CAP. XVI.

31. *The Last Supper.* *The Israelites gathering Manna in the Wilderness.*

Cristus manducat pascha cum discipulis suis. Manna datur filiis israel in deserto.

32. *The Jews eating the Paschal Lamb.* *Melchisedec meeting Abraham.*

Judei manducaverunt agnum paschalem. Melchisedech obtulit Abrahe panem et vinum.

## CAP. XVII.

33. *The Soldiers, sent to take Christ in the Garden, struck to the Ground at his Word.* *Sampson killing a Thousand Philistines with the Jaw Bone of an Ass.*

Cristus prostravit hostes suos unico verbo. Sampson prostravit mille cum mandibla azini.

34. *Sanger killing Six Hundred Men with the Coulter of a Plough.* *David slaying Eight Hundred Men with his Sword.*

Sanger occidit sexcentos viros cum vomere. David occidit octingentos viros cum impetu suo.

## CAP. XVIII.

35. *Christ betrayed with a Kiss.* *Joab killing Abner.*  
Christus dolose traditus. Joab interfecit fratrem suum amasam.

36. *David playing on the Harp before Saul.* *The Sacrifice and Death of Abel.*

Rex Saul reddidit david malum pro bono. Cayn dolose interfecit fratrem suum Abel.

## CAP. XIX.

37. *Christ insulted by the Soldiers of the High Priest.* *Hur insulted and spit upon by the Jews.*

Cristus fuit velatus, consputus et colaphisatus. Hur vir marie suffocatus sputo Judeorum.

38. *Ham mocking his Father Noah.* *The Philistines mocking Sampson when Blind.*

Cam derisit patrem suum noem et alii eum condolebant, Philistei Sampsonem exceccantes deriserunt.

## CAP. XX.

- |        |                                    |                                          |
|--------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 39.    | <i>The Flagellation of Christ.</i> | <i>The Prince Achior tied to a Tree.</i> |
| Jhesus | ad columpnam ligatus est et        | Achior princeps ligatus est ad arbo-     |
|        | flagellatus.                       | rem a servis holofernīs.                 |
| 40.    | <i>Lamech tormented by his two</i> | <i>Job tormented by the Demon and by</i> |
|        | <i>Wives.</i>                      | <i>his Wife.</i>                         |
| Lameth | confligitur a malis suis uxori-    | Job flagellabatur a demone et ab         |
|        | bus.                               | uxore.                                   |

The reader will find a copy of the left-hand compartment in my former work.

## CAP. XXI.

- |                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>41. <i>Christ crowned with Thorns.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Cristus coronatur spinea corona.</p> | <p><i>A Concubine taking the Crown from the Head of a King and putting it on her own.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Concubina ipsius coronam regis acceptam sibi ipsi imposuit.</p> |
| <p>42. <i>Schimei insulting David.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Simey maledicit David.</p>              | <p><i>The King Ammon disfiguring the Messengers of David.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Rex amon dehonestavit nuncios david.</p>                                                    |

## CAP. XXII.

- |                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                          |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>43. <i>Christ bearing the Cross.</i><br/>Cristus baiulavit crucem suam.</p>                                          | <p><i>Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac.</i><br/>Ysaac ligna portat pro sua immolatione.</p>                              |
| <p>44. <i>The Son of the Lord of the Vineyard murdered by his Servants.</i><br/>Exploratores uvam in vecte portant.</p> | <p><i>The two Spies carrying the Bunch of Grapes.</i><br/>Heres vinee projectus est extra vineam et interfectus est.</p> |

These two inscriptions, as Heineken observes, are strangely misplaced : that on the right belonging to the subject on the left hand, and vice versa.

## CAP. XXIII.

- |                                     |                                    |                                                                     |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 45.                                 | <i>Christ nailed to the Cross.</i> | <i>Tubal-Cain superintending his Workmen, who are forging Iron.</i> |
| Xpus crucifixus mortem suam figuris | Inventores artis ferrarie & melo-  |                                                                     |
| predixit.                           | diarum.                            |                                                                     |



46. *Isaiah suspended and sawed in two.* *A King killing his Child.*

Ysaïas propheta dividitur serra lignea. Rex moab immolavit filium super murum.

#### CAP. XXIV.

47. *Christ on the Cross between the two Thieves.* *The Dream of Nebuchadnezzar of the Tree cut down.*

Cristus pendens in cruce. Nabugodnosor in sompno vidit arborem.

48. *The King Codrus causing himself to be put to death for the good of his Country.* *Eleazar killing the Elephant by plunging his Sword into its Belly.*

Rex codrus dedit se ipsum in exilium pro suis. Eleasar confodens elephantem ab ipso oppressus est.

Thus far, as Heineken observes, the chapters are conformable to the ancient Latin manuscripts. They no longer continue to be so.

(Cap. 25, in the MSS. Copies.)

This Chapter is omitted in the ancient editions in folio ; but in one of Veldener's quarto editions it is found, ornamented with four cuts, that is *two vignettes each divided into two*, which were no doubt originally intended for the work in folio ; though the first printer did not make use of them. The titles are :

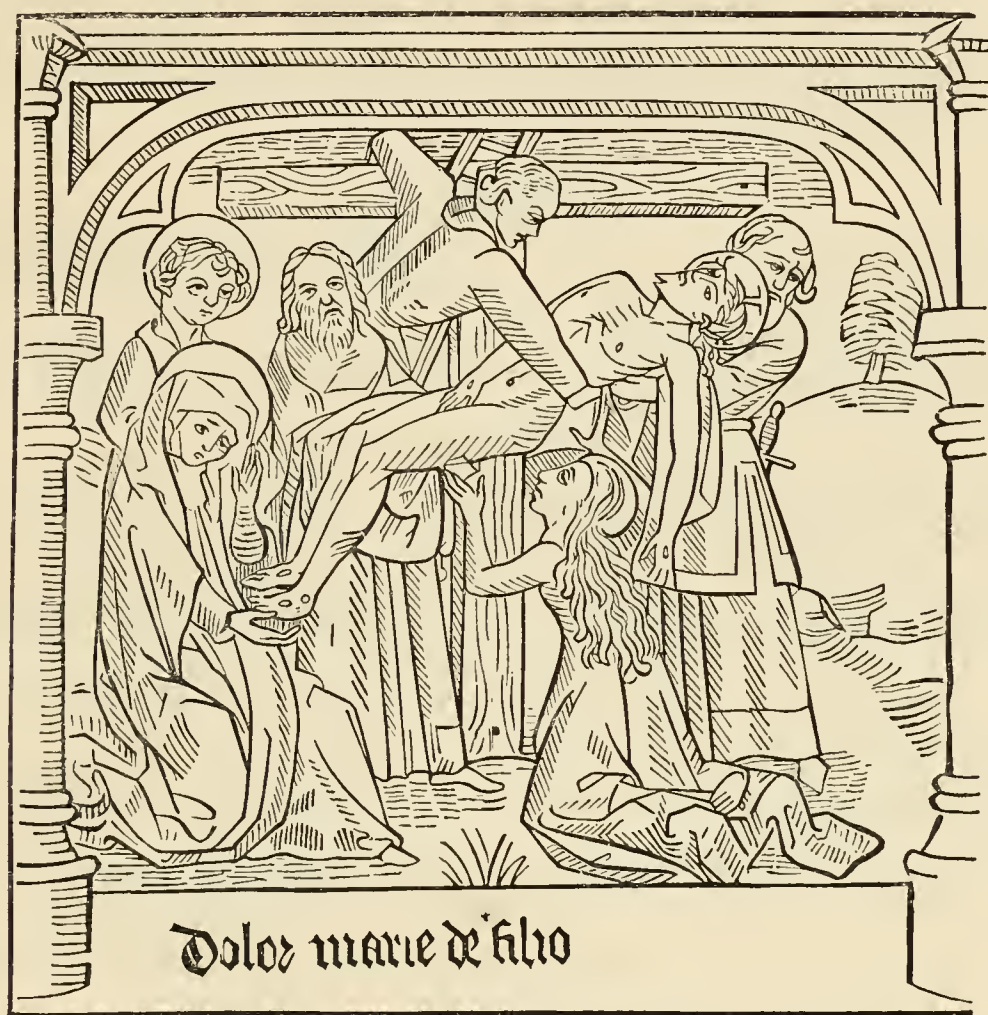
- |                                          |                                        |
|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1. Synagoga derisit xp̄i ihesū.          | 2. Micol derisit david virū suum.      |
| 3. Absolon suspensus lanceis perforatus. | 4. Evilmerodach corpus patris divisit. |

These pieces were, I think, certainly engraved by the same artist as the last ten cuts of the folio Speculum.

#### CAP. XXV. (Cap. 26, in the MSS. Copies.)

- |                                                               |                                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 49. <i>The Descent from the Cross.</i>                        | <i>Joseph's Coat brought to Jacob.</i>      |
| Dolor marie de filio.                                         | Jacob deflet filium suum Joseph.            |
| 50. <i>Adam and Eve lamenting over the dead body of Abel.</i> | <i>Naomi weeping the Death of her Sons.</i> |
| Prothoplasti luxerunt necem Abel.                             | Noemy flet mortem filiorum.                 |

The latter cuts of this series are engraved in a very different manner from those of the first twenty-four Chapters ; and the designs also appear to be of another hand. In the subjoined copy of the Descent from the Cross, the reader will perceive, that the tree, on the right, is round and clumpy ; and that the hatchings, with which the figures are shaded, are ranged diagonally ; whereas, in the preceding cuts, the figures are almost uniformly shaded by horizontal hatchings, and the trees, are of a conic form, with sharply pointed tops, like those of “ the Book of Canticles.”



CAP. XXVI. (Cap. 27, in the MSS. copies.)

51. *The Burial of Christ.*

Hora completorii datur sepulture.

52. *Joseph put into the Well.*

Joseph missus in cisternam.

*The Burial of Abner.*

David flevit super exequias abner.

*Jonas swallowed by the Whale.*

Jonas a cete devoratur.



Three Chapters are here wanting ; viz.

(Cap. 28, of the MSS. Copies.)

- |                                      |                                         |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. Quatuor destructiones infernorum. | 2. Angelus in fornace pueros visitavit. |
| 3. Daniel in lacū leonis missus.     | 4. Štrutio pullum v̄miculo liberavit.   |

(Cap. 29.)

- |                                 |                                         |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1. Xps diabolū hostē superavit. | 2. Bananias leonem in cisterna occidit. |
| 3. Sampson leonem dilaceravit.  | 4. Ayoth Eglon regē perforavit.         |

This Chapter and the preceding, are found in one of Veldener's quarto editions ; ornamented, like the rest, with four cuts, that is two vignettes each divided into two.

(Cap. 30.)

- |                                                              |                                      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 Maria per compassionem vicit adversarium nostrum dyabolum. | 2. Judit amputavit caput holofernis. |
| 3 Jahel perforavit Sysaram.                                  | 4. Regina thamar decollavit Cyrum.   |

CAP. XXVII. (Cap. 31, in the MSS. Copies.)

- |                                                            |                                                           |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 53. <i>Christ's Descent into Limbo.</i>                    | <i>Moses leading the Children of Israel out of Egypt.</i> |
| Sancti patres liberantur de inferno.                       | Israhel liberatur a Pharaone.                             |
| 54. <i>God commanding Abraham to leave the Land of Ur.</i> | <i>Lot and his Family quitting Sodom.</i>                 |
| Liberatio Abraham de yr caldeorum.                         | Liberatio loth a sodomis.                                 |

CAP. XXVIII. (Cap. 32, in the MSS. Copies.)

- |                                             |                                                            |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 55. <i>The Resurrection of our Saviour.</i> | <i>Sampson carrying off the Gates of the City of Gaza.</i> |
| Resurrectio domini nostri Jhesu Cristi.     | Sampson tulit portas gaze.                                 |
| 56. <i>Jonas vomited up by the Whale.</i>   | <i>Stone Masons at Work.</i>                               |
| Exitus ione de ventre ceti.                 | Lapis reprobatus factus est in lapidem anguli.             |

Seven Chapters are here omitted in the ancient folio editions ; viz.

## (Cap. 33, of the MSS. Copies.)

- |                                         |                                  |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Ascensio domini nostri Jhesu cristi. | 2. Vidit Jacob in somnis scalam. |
| 3. Ovis perdita est inventa.            | 4. Helias in curro igneo, &c.    |

## (Cap. 34.)

- |                                 |                                                        |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Missio spiritus sancti.      | 2. Confusio linguarum in edificatione<br>turris babel. |
| 3. Moysi dantur decem precepta. | 4. Vidua mittens oleum in vasa.                        |

## (Cap. 35.)

- |                                                      |                                                        |
|------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Maria visitans omnia loca passionis<br>filii sui. | 2. Dolor uxoris thobie super absen-<br>tiam filii sui. |
| 3. Mulier querens dragmam perditam.                  | 4. Rex Saul despondens Michol a<br>Salathiel.          |

## (Cap. 36.)

- |                                    |                                                                |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Assumptio beate marie virginis. | 2. Rex David cytharizans coram<br>archā dni.                   |
| 3. Mulier amicta sole.             | 4. Salomon in throno et mater eius<br>coram eo in alio throno, |

## (Cap. 37.)

- |                                                  |                                                         |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Visio Sancti dominici.                        | 2. Abigail intercedens pro nabal stulto<br>coram david. |
| 3. Mulier thecuites intercedens pro<br>absolone. | 4. Mulier sapiens ejecit caput Sybe.                    |

## (Cap. 38.)

- |                                                     |                                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Maria est nostra defensatrix.                    | 2. Moyses obsedit urbem Saba quam<br>tarbis filia regis liberavit. |
| 3. Mulier mittens lapidem super<br>caput abimelech. | 4. David per murum dimittitur.                                     |

## (Cap. 39.)

- |                                     |                                             |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1. Filius orat patrem pro nobis.    | 2. Antipater transit in gratiam<br>Cesaris. |
| 3. Maria ostendit filio suo pectus. | 4. Hester orat regem assuerum.              |

## CAP. XXIX. (Cap. 40, of the MSS. Copies.)

- |                               |                                                                                    |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 57. <i>The Last Judgment.</i> | <i>The Parable of the Lord, taking an<br/>account of the Debts owing to him by</i> |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|



*his Servants, and causing the wicked  
Servant to be cast into a Dungeon.*

Extremum judicium.

Nobilis reversus ex longinquis fecit  
rationem.

58. *The Parable of the Wise and the  
Foolish Virgins.*

*Daniel explaining the Hand-writing  
on the Wall.*

Regnum celorum simile decem vir-  
ginibus.

Manus domini scripsit in pariete.

The cut representing the parable of the wise and foolish virgins is so beautifully composed, that I am sure the reader will be gratified by its introduction in this place. It would be difficult to point out any design of that subject, of later times, in which the story, to use a technical phrase, is better told, or wherein the figures are more gracefully disposed.



The ancient folio editions end with the above Chapter : the MSS. copies have the following Chapters besides :

## Cap. 41.

- |                                      |                                               |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1. Diverse pene damnatorum.          | 2. David punivit populum urbis rabat.         |
| 3. Gedeon discerpens derisores suos. | 4. Dimersio pharaonis in mari rubro cum suis. |

## Cap. 42.

- |                               |                                  |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Gaudium Sanctorum in celo. | 2. Regina Saba venit ad Salomon. |
| 3. Convivium assueri regis.   | 4. Convivium filiorum iob.       |

The three remaining Chapters have each eight designs.

## Cap. 43.

- |                                                                    |                                                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Visio cujusdam devoti hominis.<br>Christus portans crucem suam. | 2. Cena domini, hora vespertina.                  |
| 3. Cristus hora completorii emittens<br>sudorem sanguinis.         | 4. Hora matutina, ductus in domo<br>Caiphe.       |
| 5. Hora prima, ductus ad Pylatum.                                  | 6. Hora tertia. Cristus flagellatus<br>coronatur. |
| 7. Hora sexta. Pylatus sedens lavat<br>manum.                      | 8. Hora nona. Cristus est crucifixus.             |

## Cap. 44.

*De septem tristiis beate marie virginis,*

- |                                                           |                                                      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Gladius in corde fratris predicatoris.                 | 2. Prima tristitia marie, Jhesus offertur in templo. |
| 3. Secunda tristitia. Maria et Joseph fugiunt in Egyptum. | 4. Tercia tristitia. Inventio pueri inter doctores.  |
| 5. Quarta tristitia. Jhesus capitur a iudeis.             | 6. Quinta tristitia. Cristus in cruce.               |
| 7. Sexta tristitia. Jhesus deponitur de cruce.            | 8. Septima tristitia. Ascensio cristi.               |

## Cap. 45.

- |                                                              |                                                               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Sacerdos quidam vidit septem gaudia beate marie virginis. | 2. Primum gaudium. Annunciatio.                               |
| 3. Secundum gaudium. Salutatio.                              | 4. Tercium gaudium. Nativitas xpi.                            |
| 5. Quartum gaudium. Magi xpo munera offerunt.                | 6. Quintum gaudium. Xps a Symone oblatus.                     |
| 7. Sextum gaudium. Jhesus inventus inter doctores.           | 8. Septimum gaudium. Coronatio beate marie virginis a Cristo. |



THE paper in the ancient folio editions of the *Speculum*, is of the same size and quality as that of the old Block-books described in the preceding chapter, resembling in shape a large quarto; and is such as was commonly used in Holland and elsewhere, from an early period to the epoch of the promulgation of typography, for books of accounts, and other manuscripts of the less expensive kind, and for epistolary correspondence; witness a prodigious number of volumes of accounts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, preserved in the archives at the Hague, and numerous letters of the same periods in the Tower of London.

In all the four editions, the work is divided into five gatherings: the first contains the Preface, which occupies, as has been said, two sheets and a half in the Latin editions, and two sheets only in the Dutch; the second, third, and fourth, have each fourteen leaves, or seven sheets, and the last gathering has sixteen leaves or eight sheets. The paper, as before observed, is printed only on one side, and the sheets forming the different gatherings are so arranged, by folding them alternately with the printed surface inwards or outwards, as that the printed pages should invariably face each other: it having been intended that the blank pages, which by this method also face each other, should be pasted together, like those of the Block-books, so that the work might be turned over, like an ordinary book written or printed on both sides, without the blank pages being perceived.

The text in these editions is printed with moveable cast type, black printing-ink and a press; excepting twenty pages in one of the Latin editions, which were taken off in a brown tint by friction from engraved blocks of wood, like the cuts themselves, (of which more will be said hereafter); and it is certain that this moveable type is identically the same in the first three editions, if we except two pages in the earliest Dutch edition. The type of the other Dutch edition is similar in the shape of the letters to that of the other three, but a little smaller. It appears also worse conditioned.

The cuts of the *Speculum*, as we have said, are taken off by friction. The paper, at the back of the cuts, has, in consequence, a shining, and sometimes a greasy appearance; the rubber employed

having been in some cases soiled ; and, from the force used in the operation, the different strokes of the engraving are often to be traced almost as distinctly on that side of the paper as on the other. This ancient mode of printing wood-engravings by friction, is even now commonly resorted to by the wood-engravers, in taking proofs of their works ; and it is found to give a greater degree of clearness, and at the same time softness, to the impression, than can be attained in the ordinary way of printing by a down-right pressure. In the ancient editions of the *Speculum*, the cuts, being taken off by this process with a brown tint, more or less transparent, have the appearance of masterly but delicate pen drawings ; but in Veldener's editions they are printed like the text with black printing-ink and the press, and seem in consequence to have lost much of their beauty. In the above respect, and in the leaves being printed only on one side, the original editions of the *Speculum* differ from all the earliest books illustrated by wood-engravings which, as far as I can learn, were printed by the first Mentz printers, or their scholars, in Germany, Italy, or elsewhere ; in all of which the cuts and the type appear to have been printed by one operation, with black printing-ink and a press, and on both sides of the paper. I shall only add upon this head, that if it be justly insisted, for the printers of Mentz, that they were by far the most skilful typographers ; it ought at the same time to be acknowledged, that the printer of the *Speculum* has shown himself to have possessed more taste and feeling than them for the arts of design.

It has been a somewhat prevalent opinion among Bibliographers, and Koning, as we have seen, adopted it, that, besides the four ancient editions of the *Speculum* which we now possess, there formerly existed a fifth, more ancient than them all, in which the whole of the text was printed from engraved wooden blocks. This opinion had its rise in the twenty pages of block-printing which, as has been said, exist in one of the Latin editions. I shall hereafter shew by incontrovertible evidence, that that edition is not the first of the known editions, as has been commonly supposed, but the third ; and more-



over, that that part of the text, which is printed in that edition from engraved blocks, is less ancient than the rest. The opinion in question, therefore, is utterly unfounded. I may at present further observe, that were those twenty pages really the remains of an ancient xylographic edition, now lost, there is little doubt that we should find the text and the cut over it, in each of those pages, to have been engraved upon the same block, or rather, I might say, we should find the two entire pages occupying the same sheet to have been engraved upon the same block; which appears to have been the common practice of the old artists to whom we are indebted for the block-books, and was adopted by them in order to facilitate the after-process of printing those works: whereas it is certain, as Heineken observes, that the pages of text printed from wooden blocks in the above edition of the *Speculum*, were not engraved upon the same blocks as the cuts. To this we may add, that the forms of the characters in those pages of text, the capital letters especially, are often very different from those in the titles of one line each, which are engraved immediately under and upon the same blocks with the cuts themselves; shewing clearly that the pages of text were not engraved by the same artist that engraved the cuts.

Heineken observes of the cuts of the *Speculum*, that they appear to have been engraved on hard wood of a close grain, and that he cannot sufficiently admire the skill of the artist by whom they were executed; and the eulogium is well merited, if we except from it a few of the latter pieces of the series. He ought to have added, that those who furnished the designs must have held a rank among the most skilful masters of the day, and have been of a very different stamp from the designers of the figures in 'the Apocalypse,' the 'Ars Moriendi,' the 'Ars Memorandi,' and most of the other block-books of which he has given the descriptions in his well-known '*Idée Générale*.'

But he makes another remark concerning the cuts, to which I can by no means subscribe. He observes that

“ It would be wrong to conclude that the vignettes and the text of this work were engraved and printed at the same period, because the vignettes represent the same subjects as the text describes. It is certain,” he continues, “ that Latin Manuscripts of this work existed, with vignettes painted in distemper, in various libraries of Germany, at least as early as the twelfth century;<sup>49</sup> and *nothing therefore would be more easy than for a designer or an engraver in wood to invent (or copy) these vignettes* (‘ d’inventer ces vignettes’) *after one of these manuscripts, and to engrave them, long before any one thought of printing either the Latin text, or the Flemish translation.*”

And in another place he says,

“ He is of opinion that the text of the Speculum was printed just at the time of the invention of Typography, and that the vignettes had been engraved long before, after the drawings in a Latin Manuscript,” &c.

The expression, ‘ *d’inventer ces vignettes*,’ in the first passage, seems of doubtful meaning: it is explained in the second. It is clear from the two taken together, that he supposes the cuts to have been engraved after the drawings in some ancient manuscript, long before any idea occurred of printing the text of the Speculum.

The intention of Heineken in the above passage, is clear enough. His argument, when describing the early block-books, in his *Idée Générale*, is all intended to shew that the inventions of Xylography, Typography, and Chalcography, belong to Germany alone. But he had, now and then, certain misgivings as to the *type* of the Speculum; which perhaps some practised bibliographer of his acquaintance had truly told him was Dutch, and not German. The cuts, he saw, very much resembled those of the ‘ *Biblia Pauperum*,’ the antiquity of which was on all sides admitted; and, therefore, as a measure of precaution, (in case the Speculum should hereafter be proved to have been printed in Holland) he adroitly suggests that the cuts may be much older than the text; in order that their antiquity

<sup>49</sup> At page 468, however he says: “ Le plus *ancien* MS. que j’ai vu me paroit être du douzième siècle, et quelques citations que je trouve dans l’ouvrage semblent indiquer le même âge.” I have not hitherto met with a MS. of the Speculum which appeared to me earlier than the fourteenth century.



may not be brought in evidence of the antiquity of the printed book which contains them.

As this suggestion of Heinecken is purely gratuitous, and unsupported by the smallest evidence, it might seem unnecessary for me to notice it further. But a writer who permits himself to propose suppositions as probable, merely because they suit the object he has in view, and are within the range of possibilities; who, after having converted his possibilities into probabilities, goes further, and argues from them, as if they were facts (and Heinecken has done so on many occasions); such a writer, I say, may often mislead an incautious reader, and bring him to admit a false conclusion. It is important in the present case to come, if possible, to a right one; and, therefore, I proceed to shew that the supposition of Heinecken is on every account improbable; that whatever evidence we have makes the other way; and that for many reasons the reverse of his supposition appears almost certain.

I begin by observing, that the character of the *costume* in these cuts (as will be proved at length hereafter) cannot justify our dating the designs from which they were copied earlier than towards the middle of the fifteenth century, when the invention of typography is said to have originated; that the costume very much resembles that of the 'Biblia Pauperum' and the 'Book of Canticles,' and appears to be of the same country, but a little later than that in the former work; nay, further, that the costume is that which was used in the fifteenth century, in Holland.

In the next place, there is the best reason to believe that these cuts were not engraved after the illuminations of any manuscript *Speculum* whatever; but that they were done from drawings expressly made for the purpose. For the latter cuts of the work were not only drawn by a different designer, and in a different style of composition from the former; but are also evidently the work of a different wood-engraver; having striking peculiarities in the execution (as well as in their style of design) distinguishing them from the others. I am aware that illuminated manuscripts occasionally occur, in which the latter

illuminations appear to have been done by a different hand from the former; and we may suppose this to have been the case with Heineken's supposed manuscript *Speculum*; but it is next to impossible to conceive, that it should so happen, that an engraver, undertaking to copy in wood the illuminations of an old manuscript, should chance to die, or for some other reason to stop working, exactly where the first illuminator had left off; and that a second engraver should chance to take up the work, exactly where the successor of the first illuminator had begun. It is unnecessary to say more on this head. I consider it as certain that *the cuts were engraved from drawings prepared on purpose*.

I need not insist that these cuts were intended for publication; but shall proceed to shew that they must also have been intended, from the first, to be accompanied by the text.

Had they ever been published without the text, some copy, or fragment at least, of such an edition, would be found somewhere; since books with engravings or drawings, however rude, appear from the earliest times to have met with a degree of respect and consideration, which was often denied to the finest printed or written volumes which chanced to be without such decorations. And hence, although the great libraries of Europe possess, among them, numerous copies of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' the 'Apocalypse,' the 'Ars Moriendi,' and most or all of the other block-books; we have record of various early printed books without engravings, of which large editions were put forth, and of which not even one copy is now known.

Besides, the shape of these cuts, seven inches and three quarters long, by only four inches and an eighth in height, is quite unlike that of any other set of ancient wood-engravings, published without text, that we know of; only fitting them to be placed, as they are in the *Speculum*, at the tops of pages.

Again, if we consider the plan of the *Speculum*, we shall perceive that, from the nature of the work, it is not probable that any artist would have thought of publishing the figures without the text. We have not here a set of designs of the principal stories of the Old and



New Testament, following each other in chronological order ; which, to a person indifferently acquainted with scripture, might be understood without accompanying descriptions. The Speculum is an abstruse jumble of types and figures, collected together to assist the preachers of early times in making their sermons ; as is indeed declared in the preface. In each chapter, a subject is proposed ; which the author proceeds to illustrate by three other subjects or stories (some of them from profane writers) which he shews to be typical of it, or to bear affinity to it. In the first two chapters, the Fall of the Angels, (supposed to have taken place before the creation), the history of our first parents, and the story of Noah's Ark, chance to follow in regular succession : but after this, though the principal subjects of the chapters,—that is the first of each—follow chronologically ; the work, as a whole, has no longer the appearance of historical arrangement ; and the subjects of the third chapter, as we have seen, are : ' The Birth of the Virgin predicted to Joachim, her father, by an Angel ;' ' A Vision of King Astiages ;' ' A Garden and Fountain, emblematic of the Holy Virgin ;' and ' the Story of Balaam and his Ass.' Nor would the titles of one line, under each of the stories, suffice for their explanation : without the text, the cuts must have been absolutely unintelligible ; and they must, therefore, from the first, have been intended to be accompanied by the text.

But, perhaps the idea in Heineken's mind was, that the cuts may have been engraved with a view of selling impressions of them, for the purpose of pasting at the tops of the pages of manuscripts of the Speculum ; or that the text should be written under them. I think it a very sufficient answer to such a supposition, that no manuscript or fragment of a manuscript decorated with them is known ; more particularly as copies of some of the block-books have been found—the Book of the Apocalypse, for example, of which I could mention three copies so circumstanced, one of them in the Bodleian Library—interleaved with manuscript illustrations in German or Flemish, written contemporarily with the printing of the blocks themselves,

and even upon paper bearing the same paper-mark. And yet the figures in the Apocalypse are accompanied by considerable portions of the Latin scriptural text, engraved on the same blocks. Still the subjects were difficult to be understood by persons not well read in scripture: and to some copies, therefore, further illustrations were added, written in the vernacular tongue, as I have said.

I would further reply to the above conjecture, that it cannot reasonably be supposed that any artist would undertake to engrave so extensive and laborious a series of cuts, as those of the Speculum, in the mere expectation of selling, now and then, a set of them for the above purpose. If my argument be right, therefore—and I know of nothing that can be opposed to it—there exists no ground whatever for the opinion, hinted by Heineken, that the cuts of this work may have been engraved before the printing of the text was meditated; but on the contrary, we have every reason to conclude that *they were undertaken originally, as I have said, with the intention of printing the text underneath them.*

But it has been said that it was at first intended to print the text under the cuts from engraved blocks of wood. It has been by far the most common opinion among bibliographers, that the work was begun in that way, and some, as we have seen, have conjectured that there once existed an edition entirely printed in that manner. I shall not here repeat what I have already said, nor anticipate the evidence presently to be produced, in utter disproof of such an opinion. Under the supposition, that the cuts were commenced before the invention of typography, there would certainly be nothing unreasonable, *per se*, in the idea that it was intended to print the text underneath them from engraved blocks of wood. This I admit. But the condition of the reasonableness of this idea, is the truth of the previous supposition; and this, not only is not proved, but is, I believe, the reverse of the fact. We have no reason whatever to suppose that it was at first intended to print the text in any other manner than that in which we have it in the first known Latin edition, which is entirely printed with moveable type; not a leaf exists of any





previous edition ; and the more I have considered the subject, the more fully have I been convinced that the cuts of the Speculum were undertaken, from the first, with the intention of printing the text in that manner.

*Whatever, therefore, the date of the cuts may be, it may fairly be maintained that the printer, before he caused them to be commenced, was so far practised in the art of printing with moveable characters, as to feel himself competent to print the text underneath them in that manner.* A work like the present, in which each two designs, with their appropriate columns of text, occupy a distinct and fixed page, —the text belonging to one vignette being in no instance carried over to another page, so that upon no occasion more than the two pages, making a sheet, could be required to be set up at the same time—was very likely to occur to a printer whose stock of type was not large, and who had heretofore practised his art in a very private manner, and upon a small scale, with perhaps little or no other help than that of some junior member of his own family ; as tradition says was the case with the printer of the Speculum. It is, in fact, just such a work as one would expect to have followed the ‘ Biblia Pauperum,’ and the ‘ Book of Canticles,’ and the small grammars called ‘ Donatuses,’ of which various fragments have been found in Holland ; some of them printed with the same identical type as the Speculum, and the greater part of which there seems reason to believe were printed before it : for as to the inference, against the priority of all these small works, which some bibliographers have drawn, from the circumstance of their being printed on both sides the parchment, while the Speculum is printed on only one side of the paper, I shall presently shew that it is utterly unfounded, and merits only to be ranked among the other fantasies of those who have written hastily on this subject.

In conclusion, I repeat, that no one fair argument presents itself to my mind, that can in any way favour the supposition that the cuts of the Speculum were engraved with any other view than that of printing the text underneath them, in the way in which we now have

it. This series of wood engravings must have been a work of great labour and expense; and could only have been undertaken as decorations to an intended printed book, which, by the sale of numerous copies, might reasonably be expected to remunerate the printer and the artist. From the degree of study exhibited in the designs of many of them, and the extraordinary diligence with which they are engraved (I speak more particularly of the first 48 cuts), it cannot be doubted that some years were employed in the execution of them; how many, it might be vain to conjecture; especially as the work appears to have experienced a check during its progress, which I shall now notice.

In the list of the cuts of this work, and of the subjects of each chapter (including also the subjects of certain chapters omitted in the four ancient editions under consideration), it has been shewn, that as far as the 48th cut, inclusive, which finishes the XXIVth chapter, the printed work is conformable to the ancient manuscripts. But, beginning from this cut, it no longer continues so; being rapidly brought to a conclusion, by a selection of five out of the twenty-one chapters, that still remained in the written copy the printer had before him; for that his manuscript contained the whole forty-five chapters, of which the book in its complete state consists, is I think certain.

In proof of this, indeed, it might almost be sufficient to notice a curious fact, which was discovered by the quick eye of my friend Mr. Inglis, upon collating the printed copy with a manuscript *Speculum* in the collection of Mr. Douce; viz. that at the end of the printed preface, containing, as has been shewn, an account of the contents of the twenty-nine chapters which the book contains, we have two lines that have nothing to do with any part of the printed work, but relate to the forty-second chapter, which is one of those entirely omitted. The preface, in the Latin manuscripts, ends thus:

- “ Predictum Prohemium hujus libri de contentis compilavi
- “ Et propter pauperes predicatorum hoc apponere curavi,
- “ Qui se forte nequierint totum librum sibi comparare
- “ Possunt ex ipso prohemio, si sciunt historias, predicare.’



In the printed work, these two lines follow :

“ *Secunda figura gaudii eterni potest convivium regis Assueri fuisse*

“ *Quia nullum legimus tam longum et tam solempne convivium habere.*”

Mr. Inglis suspects that this error may have crept in in the following manner. He supposes these two lines to have been accidentally omitted in their proper place in the manuscript from which the printer copied, and afterwards to have been added by the copyist at the bottom of the page (as was often done in such cases), with a mark, referring to the place of the omission, which chanced to be so lightly traced as to escape the printer's notice. Be this as it may, the error is repeated in the second Latin edition.

I have already observed, that, beginning with the forty-ninth cut, the remaining cuts of the volume have a style of design, and manner of execution, so very unlike those that go before, as to leave no doubt that they were drawn by a different designer, and engraved by a different wood-engraver. In fact, their style of composition is quite different, and with the single exception of the story of the wise and foolish virgins, they are far less carefully drawn, and less neatly engraved; the trees are of another form, being clumpy, instead of pointed; the skies are often shaded at top by horizontal hatchings, which is never the case in the former cuts; and the spaces at bottom, containing the titles of the subjects, (at least from cut 49 to 54 inclusive) are double the width that had been before allotted to those inscriptions.

There is, I think, no doubt that the printer originally intended to print the entire *Speculum*, as it is in the old manuscripts; but that when the cuts for the XXIVth Chapter were completed, he was deprived by death, or otherwise, of the master-artist who had hitherto furnished those embellishments. Whether this person was the engraver, who, intrusted with this department of the work, may have employed a designer of his own acquaintance to prepare the drawings; or the designer, who had perhaps been accustomed to have the vignettes executed after his designs, by an engraver of his own

choice, I pretend not to determine. A new master-artist was then procured; but he was found to be unequal to the former in diligence, if not in talents. The first cuts he produced were rude unfinished performances, in comparison with those that had gone before; and I conjecture that his employer soon began to think that the appearance of his book would be injured by their introduction, rather than otherwise.

It was not, however, until the cuts for the XXVth, XXVIth, XXVIIth, XXVIIIth, and XXIXth Chapters of the manuscript were finished, that the printer came to the resolution of bringing his work to a close, as soon as possible; by leaving out such of the remaining chapters of the manuscript copy, after the XXIVth. chapter, as he thought the least important. Among these were the XXVth., the XXVIIIth. and XXIXth Chapters; and the cuts for those chapters, which were already done, were therefore put aside. But they were not lost; and upon Veldener, many years afterwards, becoming possessed of the rest of the work, perhaps by purchase from the successors of the original proprietor, he found them also; and having divided each into two pieces like the others, by sawing through the central column separating the two subjects, he inserted them in one of his quarto editions of 1483, before mentioned.

This fact is stated by Heinecken; but as he appears to have noticed no difference of style distinguishing the latter cuts of the Speculum from the former, I was much disposed to question his accuracy, (considering it more probable that Veldener had himself caused the additional cuts to be engraved) until I had an opportunity of examining a copy of that edition; when I found the twelve pieces in question, to be without doubt by the same hand as the latter cuts in the folio Speculum, and to have been originally intended for it. The two subjects of each cut having been divided, by sawing through the middle of the central column, one side of each would necessarily be without a boundary line, were it not that Veldener has added it by a narrow lead, which being, in some instances, placed without suf-



ficient attention to accuracy, rises at one end above, or falls below, the line bounding the top or bottom of the cut.

From the circumstance of the *Speculum* being printed on one side of the paper only, some writers on the subject of early typography have assumed, that the printer knew not how to print on both sides; and have thence argued that certain fragments of small works still preserved, which, from the form of the characters and other peculiarities, there is good reason to believe to have issued from the same press, cannot have been printed by him previously. But this argument, however confidently relied on by the writers in question, is of no value. It was the adoption of the before mentioned method of taking off the cuts by friction, that obliged the printer of the *Speculum* to print only on one side of his paper; and that only. For the friction employed to produce an impression of the cut required on the verso of a leaf, and the often soiled state of the rubber, already noticed, would necessarily have spoiled that which had been before taken off on the other side.

But the best proof that the printer knew how to print on both sides of his paper is, that he did so. Scriverius mentions the having seen a copy of the *Speculum*, which had a leaf with letter-press on both sides, but a cut only on one; and another copy, having two leaves printed with the text on both sides, but the cuts only on one, is preserved at Lisle; satisfactorily proving that the printer knew very well how to print on both sides his paper, and was alone prevented from doing so in this work, by the nature of the process to be used in taking off the cuts, at the tops of the pages, after the text was printed. And, under the supposition that this proof did not exist; where, I would ask, after one side of a sheet was printed, could be the difficulty (save the objection I have mentioned) of turning the paper, after the ink of the first side was dry, and printing the other? Unless indeed, which is not the case in the *Speculum*, the paper had been of so flimsy a consistency, that, from the numerous perforations occasioned in it by the type, during the first process of impression, it had become unfit for the second.

I have observed in a previous chapter, that there is reason to believe the earliest printers of the school of Mentz seldom or ever printed more than one page of text at a time, even in their quartos. But in the four ancient editions of the Speculum, the two pages which occupy the same sheet, appear to have been invariably printed by one stroke of the press.

The proofs of this are, I think, conclusive. The upper lines of the text in those two pages always range exactly with each other; that under cut 1, with that under cut 14; 2, with 13; 3, with 12; and so through all the gatherings. Here and there, in turning over the book, we observe a page printed awry, or diagonally, on the paper: in such case, if the other page of the same sheet be examined, the same defect will be noticed. Upon opening the two Dutch copies of the edition, which I shall hereafter shew to be the fourth, at Haerlem, in the middle sheet of the same gathering, we find, upon comparing them, *the exact same breadth and regularity of the inner margin in both*, and the lines of the two pages range with each other *exactly the same in both copies*, which could not be the case, had each page been printed separately. The two pages printed with type different from the rest, in the first Dutch edition, are the two pages of the same sheet. The twenty pages of block-printing in one of the Latin editions, occur upon the corresponding leaves of the same ten sheets; and in the copy of the first (formerly called the second) Dutch edition at Lisle, already mentioned, and remarkable for having two leaves with text printed on both sides, those two leaves form the same sheet; and moreover, the two pages printed on the back (for the cuts, as has been said, are only rubbed off on one side the paper), are the two pages of another sheet in the ordinary copies.

When I first read of this singular copy of the Dutch Speculum, at Lisle, I conjectured that the two pages, wanting the cuts at top, would prove to be consecutive pages; and shew that the printer had attempted to economize his paper by printing it on both sides, but had been obliged to desist, for the reasons given above. I was informed, however, at the Hague, by the Baron Westrunen, who had



carefully examined the book itself, that the two pages wanting the cuts are those of the central sheet of the third gathering, (the cuts wanting being Nos. 21 and 22), and that the two pages, having the cuts at top, are those of the first sheet of the fifth and last gathering; the cuts being Nos. 43 and 58. The only way of accounting for this singular circumstance, that I can think of, is by supposing that the printer, upon making up the different sheets of the third gathering, found that he had accidentally printed one too many of the central sheet; and that as it was not soiled on the back, he made use of it in the last gathering, to save his paper; to which, as the leaves of the book were to be pasted back to back, there could be no objection. But, in whatever way the circumstance occurred, it proves satisfactorily three important points: first, that *the printer knew how to print on both sides his paper*; secondly, that *the two pages of text which occupy the same sheet, were printed, as has been said, by one stroke of the press*; and lastly, that *the cuts were not rubbed off at the tops of the pages until after the text had been printed*.

It has been already stated that the type in the first three editions of the Speculum, is identically the same; save two pages in the first Dutch edition, and twenty in the second Latin.

This type appears to have been formed upon the exact model of the genuine black-letter, commonly used from an early period in Holland, and which is of almost constant occurrence in old Dutch manuscript missals, and other books of prayer. It is similar, in the forms and joinings of the letters, and in the contractions used in it, to what we often find in the most highly embellished books of devotion of the fourteenth century; of the truth of which remark, I might produce in evidence a very splendid specimen, which was perhaps written in France about 1320, and an illuminated Dutch prayer book of the end of the same century or the beginning of the following, both in my own possession.

I do not mean to say that such a character was not used elsewhere in the fifteenth century, as well as in Holland: but that it was not so constantly. In a large and splendid volume of prayers, preserved in

the Royal Library at the Hague, which was written, probably at Bruges, for Philip le Bon, and is ornamented with numerous miniatures exquisitely painted in browns, the writing is of that semi-cursive character so common in manuscripts written in that century in France; and this is also the case in another devotional volume, in the same collection, which was written at Bruges for the above-named prince; as well as in a third, beautifully decorated, like the first, with miniatures in chiaro-scuro, and also done for Philip le Bon, which graced the collection of the late Mr. Douce, and is now in the Bodleian library.

The Dutch scribes, it appears, continued to maintain this black-letter character in its purity, long after it had fallen into disuse, or been more or less changed, in most other parts of Europe; (nay, it is even now used in Holland upon some occasions, as for large notices of houses to be let, and other advertisements); and, hence, this broad-faced type, this genuine black-letter, is a characteristic of early Dutch typography. This, indeed, is now so generally acknowledged by Bibliographers, that it is unnecessary to insist upon it further; as every judge of old printing will at once declare, upon looking at the *Speculum*, that the type it is printed with, is Dutch type.<sup>50</sup>

Any person conversant at all with printing, upon first viewing the *Speculum*, naturally determines that, except the twenty pages of block-printing, so often noticed, in one of the Latin editions, it was printed with *cast metal type*. Upon an attentive examination of a page, however, he discovers small, but yet, sometimes, very evident variations of form in different specimens of the same letter, which it appears difficult to account for: he finds, perhaps, by measurement, that the same word, although spelt exactly in the same manner, does not always occupy the same space; he is induced, perhaps, to hesitate as to the correctness of his first judgment, and to suspect that

<sup>50</sup> This, indeed, is freely admitted by M. Renouard, in his spirited note on the fable of Lawrence Coster, as he calls it, introduced in the Catalogue of his Library.



the type was prepared by the painful and tedious operation of cutting each individual character on a separate piece of metal by the hand.

If he embrace the latter opinion, he finds, in the work before him, ample cause to admire the invincible patience, the skill, and the exactness of the artist, who could succeed, not only in giving to the sculptured characters that general uniformity of appearance, which at first occasioned him to consider them as cast type ; but even so strict a resemblance between perhaps a dozen specimens of the same letter in the first six lines of a page, as to baffle the exertions of the most correct eye to detect any sensible difference between them, except such as must necessarily occur even in the ordinary method of printing with cast type ; either in consequence of one letter happening to have been more used and worn than another, more charged with the printing-ink, or, from an irregularity not unfrequent in ordinary press-work, forced deeper into the paper than the rest.

But let him turn from the page which he has been examining, to one of those printed from a wooden block ; and he will soon be convinced, by the comparison, that the uniformity of appearance which he witnessed in the characters of the former, could not have been produced by means similar to those used in the execution of the latter : for, in the page printed from the engraved block, he will discover, throughout, a sensible difference of form, as well as dimensions, between the various repetitions of the same letter ; and in the capital letters, especially, he will find this difference so material, as to render it easy for him to trace with a point the precise variations of form by which, for example, each of a dozen letters, S, is to be distinguished from all the others. It will then occur to him, that it must have been a task of less difficulty to preserve uniformity in the shapes and dimensions of the letters, in a page of text engraved upon a plain block of wood, which would have afforded the artist not only the means of a constant comparison, but also a convenient and steady rest for his hand during the operation of engraving, than it could have been to cut the numerous characters required, with so strict a resem-

blance to each other, on small separate pieces of wood or metal; and he will perceive his second opinion to be untenable.

The first time I saw a copy of the Speculum, which chanced to be of the second Latin edition (formerly called the first), my own opinion underwent, in rapid succession, the changes above described: and at length the following mode occurred to me of accounting satisfactorily, as I still think it does, for the dissimilarities above noticed in the type of that work.

The type of the Speculum was, I conceive, made by pouring melted lead, pewter, or other metal, into moulds of earth or plaster, formed, whilst the earth or plaster was in a moist state, upon letters cut by the hand in wood or metal; in the ordinary manner used, from time immemorial, in casting statues of bronze and other articles of metal, whether for use or ornament. The mould thus formed could not be of long duration, like a matrix, cut or stamped in metal, since it was obviously subject to fracture; nor could it be equally true and perfect in other respects, as it was liable to warp in drying.

From moulds thus constructed, but a small number of specimens of each letter could be taken, before they would require to be renewed. This, it is reasonable to suppose, was effected by forming new moulds upon the various pieces which had been cast out of the old ones. Those characters, however, before they could have been fit for use, it had been necessary to clear, by means of the graver, from certain small particles of extraneous metal left upon them by the process of casting; so that the small accidental dissimilarities in different specimens of the same letter, originally occasioned by this imperfect mode of casting them, were necessarily augmented by the after-process of finishing or clearing them with a sharp instrument, (the marks of which operation are very clearly to be perceived in the type of the Speculum); and thus the renewed moulds, formed upon the letters thus prepared, would necessarily differ, and in some cases very materially, from the former moulds, and also (for these moulds could be multiplied at pleasure) from each other. That a book, printed with type thus manufactured, should present a never-ending



variety in the forms of the different specimens of the same letter, is, therefore, not surprizing; it is rather a subject for our admiration, that the dissimilarity in the characters in the work before us, is not greater and more immediately apparent.

Besides the smaller and indescribable varieties of form in the letters, generally, perceptible in the type of the Speculum, and in other works printed with type prepared in the same manner; the marks of accidental fractures, or distortions of a more obvious kind, will sometimes be discovered in particular characters; occasioned, perhaps, by some fracture or distortion which the mould, out of which that particular letter was cast, had encountered whilst drying. If, notwithstanding such an imperfection of the mould, several letters were cast out of it, (which, in the infancy of typography, would probably be the case, if the fracture was not of such a magnitude as to render the letters cast from it wholly unfit for use) each of those letters would retain peculiar marks, by which it might be distinguished from other specimens of the same letter that had been cast out of moulds which were free from such defects. But, as has been said, a sufficient quantity of type could only be procured by moulds often renewed upon the characters before cast; and it would occasionally happen that the new moulds would be formed upon letters which, having themselves been cast out of fractured or distorted moulds, retained the marks of such imperfection; and thus the marks of the original accident would descend to a considerable number of the specimens of that particular character.

Mr. Koning, in describing the type of the Dutch edition, which he, like Meerman, considered the first, mentions the having found in it several instances of a capital letter **Æ**, fractured in a peculiar manner at top; and a greater number of the capital **ſ**, in which part of the central upright stroke was broken in the middle. Mr. Koning's idea, however, of the method employed in making the type, is different from mine. He takes it for granted that the artist used the same apparatus as we use now, but of an inferior quality. The punches, ('poinçons') with which the matrices, or moulds of the different letters,

were to be struck, were, he thinks, carved in hard wood, and the matrices were of lead or pewter; and he accounts for the above marks of fracture in particular letters, by supposing that some of the punches had been continued in use after they had received small injuries: but, although I will not too confidently insist upon it, my own supposition as to the process employed in preparing this type, appears to me the more reasonable: besides that I am very unwilling to deny to the ingenious Schoeffer, the honor of having really been the inventor of this improved mode of manufacturing cast types.<sup>51</sup>

If the type of the Speculum be compared with the types of other early printed books, it will, I believe, be found to be more abundant in ligatures than any other, of equal dimensions, used in the Low Countries, or perhaps elsewhere, during the fifteenth century. This circumstance is strongly favourable to its antiquity. For the inconvenience arising from the too frequent use of types containing each two, and sometimes three letters, (a practice which was probably resorted to in the infancy of typography, in order that the printed book might resemble the work of the calligraphist, and thus pass for manuscript) occasioned them, by degrees, to be more sparingly used, after the art was no longer a secret, especially in books printed with characters of a large size; as by the diminution of the number of pieces employed, the expense and labour of preparing the type was greatly diminished; besides that it rendered the compositor less liable to mistake one piece for another, when setting up the type.

<sup>51</sup> I suspect that another method of casting type, different from the two modes above described, was at first used at Mentz by Fust and Schoeffer; and that Schoeffer did not hit upon his admirable invention of the punches and matrices, till afterwards. My supposition is, that upon their first thinking of printing with moveable characters, they carefully engraved numerous lines of characters upon tablets of hard wood; that they took moulds of these tablets, in earth or plaster, out of which they cast tablets of metal; and that lastly they sawed these metal tablets into pieces, some containing one, others two, and others, again, three letters, as they judged most convenient. The three capitals A, in the colophon of the Psalter of 1457, and so the two letters P, *are all different*: and I think there is strong ground for believing that the type of that celebrated work was prepared in the manner I have said.



The type of the Speculum is remarkable for its heaviness of appearance; the dark strokes of the characters being thicker in proportion to the dimensions of the letters, than is the case perhaps in any other ancient type of the same size. This perhaps was rendered necessary by the nature of the material used for its construction; which, from the general want of sharpness in the appearance of the letters, and the frequent fractures and zigzag bendings in the fine strokes of some of them—the capital I in particular—there seems reason to believe was pewter, or some other soft metallic composition, ill calculated to resist the force of the press, unless in characters of thick and heavy proportions.

The capital letter A in the Speculum, is different from what I have seen in any other black letter type, resembling in form the minuscule character. The minuscule t, when ending a word, has a fine perpendicular stroke, joined to the cross stroke of the letter. This is sometimes the case in early black-letter MSS.; indications of the practice will be observed in some specimens of this letter in the block, before spoken of, of the ‘*Temptationes Demonis*’; and it is constant in the larger type (of the same shape as that of the Speculum) in which we have certain fragments of *Donatuses* and other grammatical works, to be noticed hereafter: but the peculiarity is, I understand, not to be found *in any other type whatever*. Again, the letter w, is very commonly used in the Speculum, instead of the letters vu, in the words *vult, vultis, vulnera, &c.*; upon which improper use of the w (which in fact is no Latin letter), I shall observe further hereafter.

There is only one other peculiarity in the type of the Speculum which I shall here notice; and I do it because, trifling as it may seem, it appears to me of itself to prove, that the printer of this work was neither a follower nor imitator of the Mentz school of printing. What I mean is the mark of abbreviation often used for the preposition *con*, so frequent at the beginning of words in the Latin language. In nineteen out of twenty early manuscripts, this syllable will be found indicated by a mark resembling the figure 9, if the writing be cursive, or thus 9, if it be the more regular black letter; and so it is in the Spe-

culum. But in the books of the Mentz printers and their followers, including those of the first known printers of the Low Countries, this syllable (I mean when not indicated by the common c, with a mark over it) will, I believe, invariably be found represented by a mark resembling the letter c reversed, thus, ɔ or ɔ; which mark of abridgment, as I have said, is of comparatively rare occurrence in manuscripts.

There is, as I shall presently shew, good reason to believe that the shafts of the characters, with which the *Speculum* was printed, were perforated; and that those of each line were strung on a thread. This method, which is more than once mentioned by old writers on the origin of printing, was, I am of opinion, used by the printer, in the absence of the *composing-stick*, (a contrivance probably not as yet discovered, or not known to him,) in order to keep the pieces together, whilst composing the different lines; and also to prevent them from starting, individually, out of their places, after they were put into the form; which accident, in consequence of the unequal dimensions of the shafts of the type, occasioned by the imperfect mode of casting them, must otherwise have been of so frequent occurrence, as to render the process of setting up the type, fixing it in the form, and afterwards printing it, almost impossible.

The work, which is printed in two columns, being in verse, the lengths of the lines were necessarily unequal: had the printer possessed the instrument termed a *composing-stick*, this circumstance would not have occasioned any peculiar difficulty; since no line could have *exceeded* in length, the determined breadth of the column it was to occupy. But he had not this unerring guide, and was obliged in composing the lines to regulate their respective lengths by his eye, or by some other imperfect mode of measuring. It, therefore, occasionally happened that one of the long lines, after it had been set up, was found to be *a little too long* to go into the form without being turned a little upwards, or downwards, at the end; a mode of conquering the difficulty which the printer appears to have sometimes resorted to in such cases, rather than be at the pains of taking to pieces and



resetting the line a little shorter, by means of some abbreviation not before used in it.

After the lines composing two pages, of two columns each, (for it has been shewn that two pages were printed at once) had been placed one by one in their proper order in the form, the vacant spaces at the ends of short lines, and at the bottoms of the columns, appear to have been filled up with other type, apparently of unequal sizes,<sup>52</sup> with now and then, perhaps, a small square bit of wood, so as to make the whole tight; for, the printer appears to have possessed few regular blank pieces, such as are now used, except those required for the purpose of separating the words of the different lines.

The *form* was probably a broad thick plank of strong wood, perhaps oak, with an opening cut through it to the size of the two folio pages. This opening appears to have been divided in the middle by a piece of wood of a thickness equal to the intended distance separating the two pages, which, when the sheet was folded, was to give the inner margin of the two leaves; besides which the two columns of each page were separated by a slip of wood somewhat narrower.

After the two pages had been placed, as tightly as could be by hand, within the form, thin wedges of hard wood appear to have been driven in all round by means of a hammer and a small punch, or narrow blunted chisel, in order to render the whole still more firm, so as to resist the operation of the press; and of this process the marks are very apparent at the edges of the pages, in the two copies of the fourth edition of the *Speculum*, which are preserved in the town-hall at Haerlem; and which, because they are printed in a more slovenly manner than the previous editions, Meerman supposed to be of the first edition.

We have mentioned the unequal dimensions of the shafts of the type, necessarily resulting from the imperfect mode used in preparing it; that sometimes a line appears to have been placed in the form

<sup>52</sup> The sizes of some of the pieces of this blank type, appear to me to correspond with the larger character, of which Meerman has given us two fragments of a *Donatus*, in his Tab. II.

that was rather too long; and moreover, that the waste type or other pieces, used for filling up at the ends of short lines, or at the bottoms of the pages, were of unequal sizes. It follows, that had not the letters composing a line been kept together by the thread above mentioned, any individual type that chanced to be a little smaller than its neighbours, could not have been held firmly in its place; and that when the wedges were at last driven in at the edges of the pages, the whole of the type would have been liable to start. When a line was a little too long, it became necessarily a little curved at the end, or else zigzag. In such case, the line which immediately followed, although not too long in itself, would, one would think, be necessarily constrained to take the same direction. But, it is not always so in the Speculum: for we sometimes find three or four consecutive lines zigzag, or slightly bent, one in one direction and another in another; which is a convincing proof that the pressure of the different lines of type upon each other, must have been very imperfect and unequal; that some of the letters could have had no pressure in that direction at all; and that, consequently, but for the contrivance above mentioned, the page could not have been kept together so as to stand the operation of the press. A very careful consideration of the subject, after repeated examinations of the different editions of the Speculum, has convinced me of the truth of this opinion; and, indeed, a very remarkable and certain proof, that the lines were placed in the form, *one by one in a piece*, after being previously set up, is afforded in the 38th page of the fourth edition; where, at bottom, under the last line of the text in the 1st column, the line of reference was inadvertently placed by the printer upside down; thus:

“ *Noe luas bespot slapende ende niet butende*  
*„in der 11 sigauw“* „

Had the letters been placed, each separately, in the form, or a word only at a time, the blunder to this extent could not have happened: nor can I conceive how the printer could have placed the line all at once in the form, had not the letters been kept together in the way I have



mentioned. I think that a good many of the numerous errors in the Speculum, of which I shall speak more particularly hereafter, are to be accounted for in this way. The printer could not take out and change a wrong letter, without taking out the whole line in which it occurred, and unstringing the characters; and, therefore, rather than be at the trouble of doing this, he often left them unaltered.

It appears very certain that the printer of the Speculum must have used a *frisket*, or some other contrivance equivalent to it. The blank spaces at the ends of lines, and at the bottoms of pages, were, as has been said, in great measure filled up by type not intended to be printed, but which projected equally with the type which was to be printed; and, consequently, when the printing-ink was applied to the form by the dabber, the blank type, if I may so term it, would necessarily receive the ink as well as the other. After, therefore, the two pages which were to be printed, had been ranged and fixed in the form, a sheet of paper large enough to cover the whole, was cut out with great nicety, so as to leave uncovered those parts which were to be printed, and to cover all the rest; and this, being interposed between the form and the paper which was to receive the impression, prevented the ink from being transferred to the parts intended to remain white; though its thickness was not sufficient to prevent those parts from being indented in some measure, and in some places more than in others, by the projections of the said blank type. Now and then it happened that a corner of one of these characters forced its way through the interposed paper, leaving a black mark where it should not; and in one instance, under cut 12, in the second Latin edition, the person who prepared this paper, has so cut it as to leave exposed, at the end of a line, *several letters* of the type used by the compositor for filling up, *which he erroneously took for a word* of the text; and, in consequence, they are printed as if they really had been so. Whether this paper was fixed to the frisket, or whatever apparatus was employed, in the way now used, I do not undertake to determine; but the different copies of the Speculum which I have

examined, afford abundant proof that a process, more or less such as has been described, was resorted to in printing them.

I shall only add upon this head, that in one of the two Dutch copies of the fourth edition, at Haerlem, (for the fault is rectified in the other) the lower half of the bottom line of one of the pages is not printed at all, the letters appearing cut off at the middle, in consequence of the protecting marginal paper having chanced to project too far ; an accident which occasionally occurs even in our days.

It has already been shewn, that the cuts, at the tops of the pages, were printed by friction on the back of the paper, after the text had been printed. I may further observe upon this point, that, as no copy of the Speculum appears to be known, having the printed text complete, but wanting some of the cuts, it seems reasonable to conclude, that the cuts of the different sheets were rubbed off, at the tops of the pages, as soon as convenient after the printing of the text; which was probably done, in order, as far as possible, to guard against the error of misplacing the cuts.



## CHAPTER XI.

### SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS.

OF THE ORDER IN WHICH THE FOUR ANCIENT EDITIONS OF THIS WORK  
WERE PRINTED.

THE rudeness of execution observable in the Dutch edition of the *Speculum*, of which two copies are preserved in the Town Hall at Haerlem, coupled with the circumstance of a Dutch, and not a Latin edition, having been mentioned by Junius, as a production of Jansoen, or Coster, naturally enough occasioned it to be considered by Meerman as the most ancient edition of the book ; and, as we have seen, he insisted that it was printed with moveable characters cut in wood, in spite of the assurances of the experienced printer, Enschedé, that it was printed with cast metal type.

Meerman, as has been said, supposes this edition, alone, to be the production of Coster, and to have been printed by him between the years 1430 and 1440. He places next, the Latin edition with the twenty pages of block-printing ; which he supposes to have been printed by the successors, or heirs, of the inventor, between 1442 and 1450. The other Dutch edition, he appears to think followed ; and lastly, he puts the other Latin ; conjecturing that these two editions were printed within ten years after the former Latin edition. His idea that the heirs of Coster began to print the above Latin edition with engraved blocks, in order to save time, whilst their moveable type was in preparation, does not appear to me to be very reasonable.

But the greater number of writers, and among them Heineken and Santander, have maintained the priority of the above first-mentioned Latin editions ; and they urge in its favour, as we have seen, (Chap. VI.

and VII.) these two arguments: first, that the inscriptions under the cuts being in the Latin language is a convincing proof that the artist, whoever he was, had an edition in that language in his contemplation when he engraved the cuts; and, secondly, that the text in that edition being in part printed from engraved wooden blocks, in the manner of the ordinary block-books, forms a strong ground for the belief that the printer, at the commencement of his undertaking, was ignorant of the art of printing with moveable characters, but that he discovered, or became informed of it, whilst the work was in progress. In the Flemish or Dutch editions, on the contrary, the text is entirely printed with moveable characters; a circumstance which, when coupled with the anomaly occasioned by the inscriptions being still in the Latin tongue, furnishes strong presumptive evidence that those editions were after-thoughts of the printer; and executed by him, after the first Latin edition, for the convenience of such as were unskilled in the dead languages.

But all these writers were in error. In the summer of 1816, a work of my own was published;<sup>53</sup> in which, although incidentally, the present subject was treated of at some length; and therein, as will presently be shewn, I was enabled to produce *certain proof, that the Latin edition of the Speculum, above-mentioned, is not the first*. Some copies of this work of mine soon found their way to Paris, and I have reason to believe that M. Renouard, the bookseller, became possessed of one of them. Two years afterwards, nevertheless, this gentleman having occasion to describe an early book in his collection, without date, printed in the Low Countries, took the opportunity of writing a new tirade<sup>54</sup> against what he is pleased to call the fable of Junius;

<sup>53</sup> “*An Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving*, &c. 2 vols. in 4to. London, 1816.

<sup>54</sup> “*Note sur Laurent Coster*, a l’occasion d’un ancien livre imprimé dans les Pays-Bas.” (1818) Speaking of the *Speculum* (pag. 6.), he says: “Il est tel qu’il semble être le produit des tentatives d’un imager qui, en possession de fabriquer des cahiers de figures en bois, ou même seulement des cartes à jouer, aura voulu essayer de cet art que l’on venoit de trouver en Allemagne, et qui, nouveau pour lui, avoit cependant beaucoup de rapport avec ses travaux habituels. Les pages du *Speculum*, en partie



in which, strange to say, he repeats, as an established truth, and in utter disregard of the adverse *proof* above mentioned, the erroneous notion of Heineken, that the said Latin Speculum was commenced by a wood-engraver with engraved blocks, and that that person, whilst the work was in hand, became informed of the new method of printing with moveable type, and, therefore, finished it in that manner:—so difficult is it to produce any impression upon the mind of one of Santander's school of 'enlightened bibliographers,' even by the clearest evidence.

In the month of December, 1813, the fine library of Mr. Ralph Willet was sold by auction by Messrs. Leigh and Sotheby. It possessed two copies of the Speculum—one of Heineken's first Latin edition, and the other of what was then called the second Dutch. Sometime before the sale, both the copies were sent for examination to my friend, the Rev. Dr. Dibdin; and upon my visiting him one evening, I gladly availed myself of the opportunity of confronting them one with the other. I was at that time commencing the above mentioned work; and a few months afterwards treating of the Speculum, (p. 202-4) I wrote as follows:

“The arguments of Heineken in favour of the priority of the Latin edition, in which the text is in part printed from engraved blocks, appear so reasonable, that, on first considering the subject, I felt little difficulty in joining with the great majority of bibliographical writers in the opinion, or rather conviction, that that edition was really the most ancient. Accident, however, lately put me in possession of undoubted evidence that such was not the case; and the axiom, that one proof is worth a dozen arguments, was strikingly exemplified. For an opportunity chanced to offer to me of comparing two very

de gravure fixe et sur bois, imprimées avec l'encre des cartiers, en partie de lettres mobiles, pour lesquelles a été employée l'encre grasse d'imprimerie, prouvent encore que ce volume aura été, pour cet atelier des Pays-Bas, *l'essai* d'un procédé nouveau, le passage de la fabrication bornée des images et lettre fixes, à celle des lettres mobiles que venoit de faire connoître l'Allemagne; ce qui s'accorde très bien avec l'opinion de tous les habiles de ces derniers temps, qui donnent au *Speculum* une date bien moins reculée qu'à *l'Ars Moriendi*, à *l'Apocalypse*, et autres volumes connus pour avoir été entièrement exécutés par les ouvriers faiseurs de cartes.”

fine copies of the Speculum ; one, of the Latin edition above mentioned, the other, of what Meerman terms the second Dutch edition ; when I most unexpectedly discovered that the impressions of the cuts, in the Dutch copy, had been taken off previously to those in the Latin copy ; and consequently, that the Dutch is the oldest of the two.

“ This was ascertained, beyond the possibility of doubt, by a very careful comparison of many of the cuts in the two copies ; for, although, upon a first view, the impressions in both appeared equally perfect, I perceived, upon a minute examination, that several of those in the Latin edition had been taken off after certain little pieces of the engraved blocks, some of them in the central parts of the compositions, had been broken away by the operation of printing them ; whereas, in the Dutch copy, the impressions of those little pieces were complete.

“ Those, who are conversant with the subject of wood-engraving, well know that engraved blocks are extremely liable to this species of accident upon their being first printed ; (and perhaps their liability to such accidents was still greater, under the mode of printing them by friction, formerly used) especially in those places where the thin projecting strokes are not sufficiently supported and strengthened by other strokes in their immediate vicinity ; and will immediately perceive that the deficiencies in the impressions of the wood-engravings in this Latin Spēculum, in parts which are found perfect in the impressions of the Dutch edition, constitute *certain proof* that they were taken off *after* those of the Dutch edition.

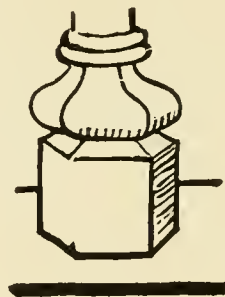
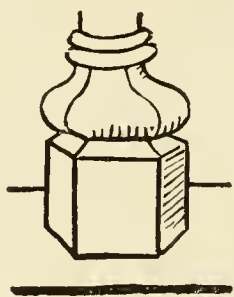
“ For these small deficiencies, in the impressions of the Latin edition, cannot be accounted for by the supposition that the blocks were not sufficiently covered with the ink, when they were printed ; or that the intervention of some thin body, which might have fallen on the block after it was charged with the ink, prevented the paper from coming in contact with the ink in those parts ; since the places where the little pieces have been broken out from the blocks, previous to printing the Latin edition, are clearly determined ; and are, indeed, distinctly perceptible, even on the backs of the impressions ; in consequence of the shining appearance of the paper, as well as the indentation occasioned in it, in all places where it came in contact with the projecting strokes of the engraved block, during the application of the friction by which the impressions were taken off : for where these pieces have been broken out, we perceive no marks of indentation ; none of this shining appearance.”



Thus, then, in the year 1814, (for though the work from which the above extract is taken was not published till 1816, this part was written and printed two years before,) did I preface the following fac-similes, which I caused to be engraved, shewing these differences in the impressions of several of the cuts in the above two editions.<sup>55</sup> It is remarkable, that almost all the above-mentioned fractures in this Latin edition, chance to shew themselves in the particular vignettes which have the text underneath them printed from engraved blocks. So much for the supposed antiquity of those pages ! !

FIRST DUTCH EDITION ;                      SECOND LATIN EDITION ;  
*formerly called the Second Dutch Edition.    formerly called the First Latin Edition.*

Cut. 2. “ The base of the pillar dividing the two subjects, is perfect in the Dutch copy. One of its perpendicular lines is broken away in the Latin :



8. “ Base of the pilaster on the right hand : one of the perpendicular lines is in some degree fractured in the Dutch copy : the piece is broken away in the Latin :



<sup>55</sup> “ These engraved illustrations are *fac similes*, no further than as respects those parts of the blocks which, previous to the printing of the Latin edition, had suffered fracture, and are noticed in the text. Minute exactness, in copying every touch of the graver, in other parts, was not deemed of importance.”

## FIRST DUTCH EDITION.

## SECOND LATIN EDITION.

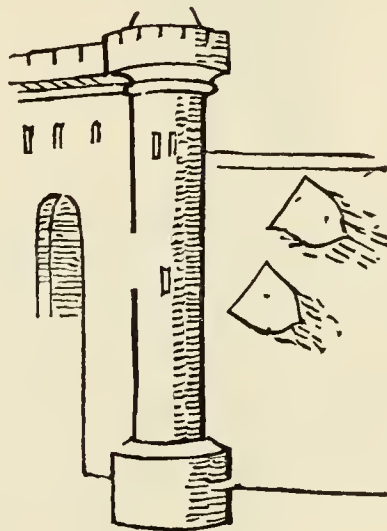
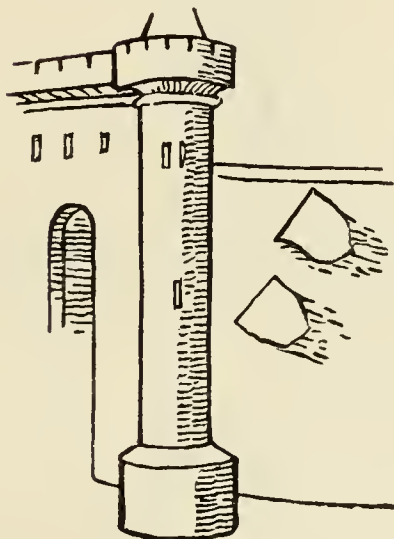
Cut. 10. " The base of the pilaster, on the right hand, bears evidence of a similar fracture of the block, in the Latin copy.



11. " Capital of the small pillar, over the head of the Virgin : a small piece of it broken away, in the Latin copy :



12. " The tower, in the right-hand compartment, which is perfect in the Dutch copy, shews signs of a considerable fracture in one of its perpendicular lines, in the Latin.



14. " Right hand corner at bottom : the foot of the servant of Abraham is perfect in the Dutch copy, but fractured in the Latin ; and a piece



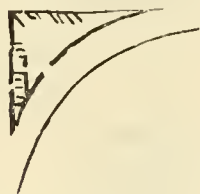
## FIRST DUTCH EDITION.

## SECOND LATIN EDITION.

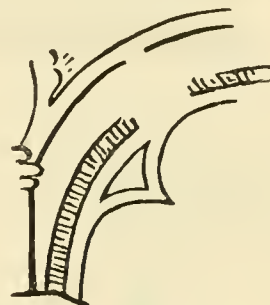
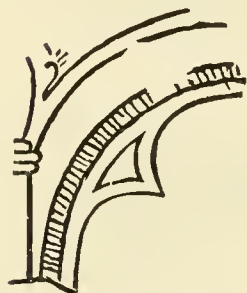
of the horizontal line underneath it, which is found in the Dutch copy, is wanting in the Latin :



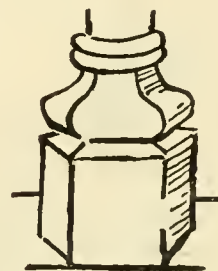
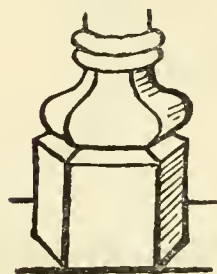
Cut. 17. “ Left-hand compartment: the left spandrel of the arch, which is fractured in the Dutch copy, shews marks of still greater injury in the Latin; part of one of the curved lines having been forced out of its place in the block, previous to printing the Latin copy :



46. “ Left-hand compartment: the left curve of the arch is already fractured in the Dutch copy; the fracture is considerably augmented in the Latin :



“ In the base of the central pillar, in the same cut, one of the perpendicular lines, which is perfect in the Dutch copy, is fractured in the Latin :



“ In the same cut, the block had received a small fracture in one of

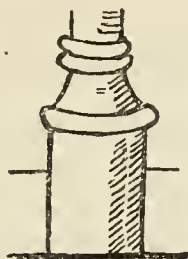
## FIRST DUTCH EDITION.

## SECOND LATIN EDITION.

the upright lines of the base of the pilaster on the right-hand, previous to its being employed for the impressions of the Dutch copy: in the Latin copy, the whole of that line is wanting:



Cut. 55. "Base of the pillar in the centre: considerably fractured in one of its upright lines, in the Latin copy:



"The base of the pilaster, or half pillar, on the right, in the same cut, appears likewise fractured in the Latin copy, as also a part of the perpendicular marginal line: whereas both these pieces are perfect in the Dutch copy:"



After the above discovery I instituted inquiries at Haerlem, as to the appearances of the *same* vignettes in the two other ancient editions, then called 'the first Dutch,' and 'the second Latin;' and from the answers I received to my queries, (notwithstanding small inaccuracies in two of them,) I became satisfied, as I then stated, ("Inquiry, &c." p. 217,) that the four folio editions of the Speculum must have followed each other in the following order:

*First.* The edition hitherto called "the Second Latin.

*Second.* That called "the Second Dutch edition."



*Third.* That called “ the First Latin edition.”

*Fourth.* That called by Meerman, “ the first Dutch edition.”

Since that period, I have had abundant opportunity of examining copies of all these editions; and I am now enabled to assert, as an incontrovertible fact, that they are placed in the above list in their true order, being exactly the reverse of the order in which they were placed by Meerman. I may add, for the more perfect satisfaction of the reader, that whenever a mark of fracture in a block appears in a cut in the *first* edition, the same, perhaps with augmentation, will invariably be found in all the other editions; that the cuts in the *second* edition have a few imperfections of this kind which those in the first have not; that in the *third* edition, numerous additional marks of fracture appear in them, not to be discovered in the two former; and that the cuts in the *fourth* edition shew other fractures, not to be found in either of the preceding editions. The cuts, as has been shewn, were taken off after the text was printed; and therefore these different degrees of fracture in the engraved blocks from which they were taken, afford *certain proof* of the relative ages of the different editions; as an engraved block, after it had a piece broken out of it, could never afterwards furnish an impression, perfect in that part, as it had done before.

#### THE FIRST LATIN EDITION.

THE First Edition of this work is in Latin, and has the text printed throughout with the same cast type; and consequently is immediately distinguished, by the uniformity of its appearance, from the other Latin edition, wherein twenty pages are printed from engraved blocks.

I have already shewn that there is good reason to believe that the manuscript which the printer had before him, contained the complete work, and that his original intention was to print the whole; but that he was induced to abridge it, considerably in the latter part, in consequence of having lost the artist who until then had provided the cuts, and his inability to find another of equal skill and diligence to take his place.

A question of probability here naturally arises. Did the printer begin to print the text, when only a portion of the cuts were engraved, and proceed in his part of the work whilst the other cuts were in hand; or did he wait till they were all done before he began printing at all? If I were obliged to give an opinion upon this question, I should say that the first supposition seems more probable than the second. Tradition says, that the printer of the *Speculum* practised his art in a very private manner; and it is not improbable that he performed the whole process of preparing the necessary apparatus, setting up the type and printing it, and afterwards rubbing off the cuts at the tops of the pages, with the help, only, of some junior member of his own family, or of a servant lad. There are also good grounds for the belief that, previous to the commencement of this work, he had been in the habit of printing certain small grammatical works, much in use in those times; and it may be conjectured that the progress of the *Speculum* would occasionally be interrupted by the necessity of keeping up his stock of these, for which there was doubtless a constant demand. Taking all these things into account, it seems probable that the average of time employed by him in printing a sheet of this work, must have been considerable; and that, consequently, if he waited till one-third of the cuts were ready, before he commenced printing, the engraver would be likely afterwards to keep up with him, and to have the latter cuts of the series ready by the time they were wanted.

It is true, as has been said, that an accident did occur, which delayed the completion of the cuts, and caused the printer to change his plan, and perhaps to suspend his labours for a considerable time. But this could not have been foreseen. A very great saving of time would be effected by his beginning to print the text while the latter cuts were in hand; and, on the whole, it appears the most natural supposition that he did so.

I think it probable, that he began by printing the preface. A preface, now, is commonly printed with different type from the body of the work it accompanies; and on that account, as well as to afford the



writer a last opportunity of correcting or commenting upon any thing said by him in his book, before it be subjected to the public eye, it is found advantageous to print it, with the title-page, &c. after all the rest. But the printer of the *Speculum* could have been influenced by no such motives. The preface, and the text that followed, were alike complete in the manuscript before him, and were to be printed without change or comment; the preface came first in the manuscript; it was to be printed in the same type as the rest; and it is therefore likely that he began by printing it.

It is much in favour of this supposition, that both in the first Dutch and in the second Latin editions of the work, there is reason to believe the preface was printed before the rest of the text: it is certain that it was not printed the last, in either of those editions.

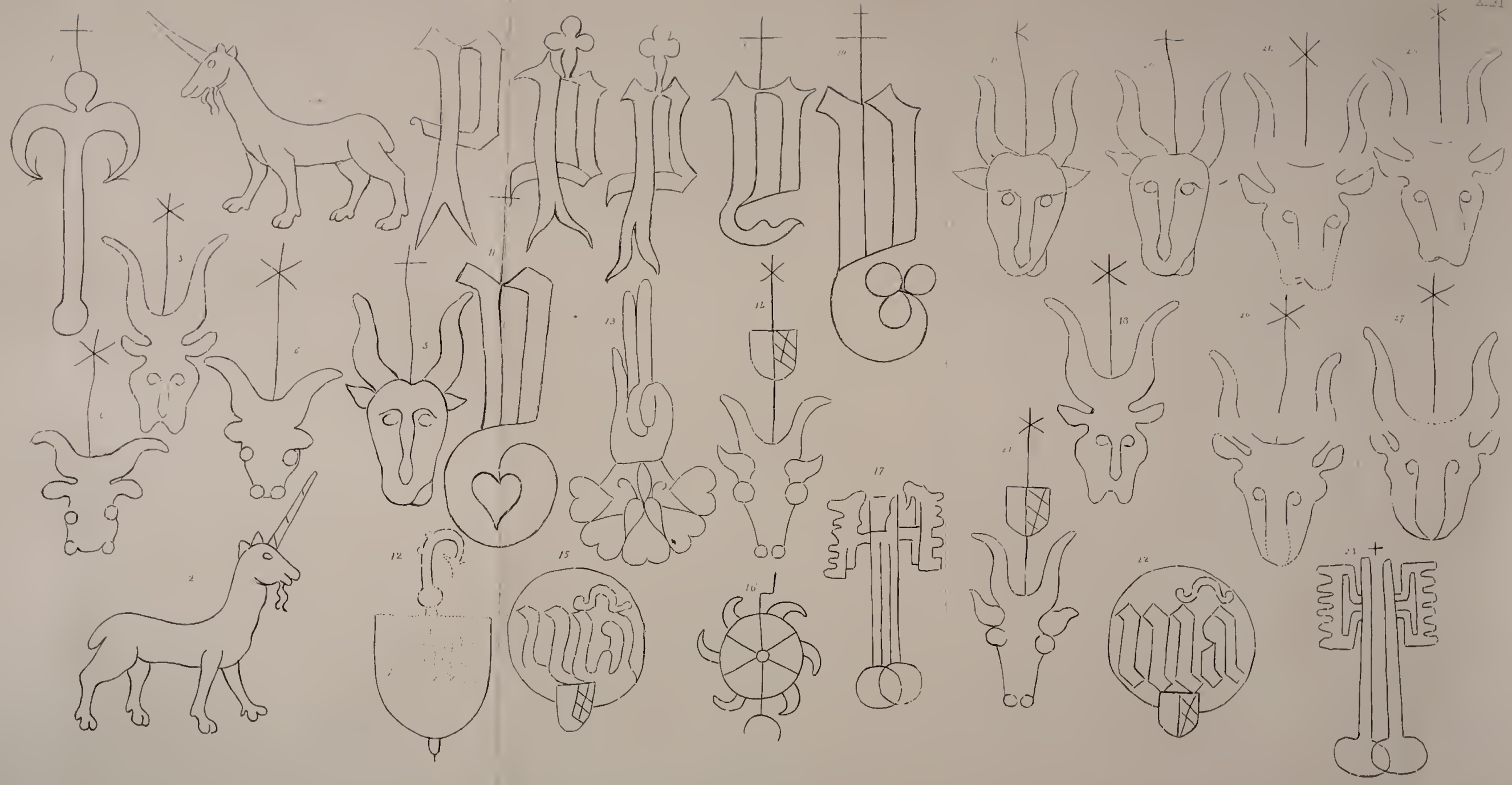
With all this, the preface in the first edition of the *Speculum*, as we now have it, appears in reality to have been the last part printed, as will be shewn when I come to speak of the paper-marks of the three sheets composing it; and the circumstance may be accounted for as follows. The printer, when he undertook the work, had the complete Manuscript *Speculum* before him, intending to print the whole; and began printing when only a part of the cuts were done, commencing with the Preface. But, when the work was far advanced, the loss of the artist who had hitherto furnished the cuts, and the inferiority of the person whom he got to fill his place, caused him to change his plan, and to abridge it considerably, as has been said, in the latter part, by leaving out several chapters; and it, therefore, became necessary for him to cancel the preface he had first printed, and to print it again with correspondent alterations and omissions.

The reader will find a few words more, in support of this conjecture, a few pages hence. Still he will allow only such weight to my arguments upon this and other points as they may seem to merit; carefully separating them from the more solid proofs of various kinds, which in the course of this inquiry are laid before him.

I have seen and carefully examined three copies of this First Edition. The first is in possession of my friend John Inglis, Esq. This







copy is perfect, and in the finest condition ; the leaves are not pasted, nor are the vignettes injured by colouring. Besides this, it differs from the two others—and, of course, from all the copies of later editions—in a very interesting particular ; sufficient of itself to prove it to be the real first edition ; and from which it is also evident that this copy must have been one of the very first that was finished ; if, indeed, it ought not to be considered as a sort of proof copy. I allude, to the three scrolls, in the story of Daniel explaining to Belshazzar the hand-writing on the wall, in the last vignette ; which, in Mr. Inglis's copy, are covered, except at the ends, with the same dark tint as the outlines of the other parts ; the body of these scrolls having been left untouched by the wood-engraver when this impression was taken off. (See Plate 17.) In all the other copies that I have seen, these scrolls are white. We may conclude that the printer originally intended to have the words, '*Mene*,' '*Tekel*,' '*Upharsin*,' engraved upon these scrolls, perhaps in Hebrew characters ; and that this copy was printed before he had given up the idea : but that he afterwards thought it better to leave the inscriptions to be inserted with a pen, and therefore caused the body of the scrolls to be cut away by the wood-engraver, leaving only the outlines. The second copy that I have seen of this edition, is at the Hotel de Ville, at Haerlem ; it wants the preface. The third, which is complete, but with the leaves pasted together, is, or was in the collection of the late Chev. Van Hulthem, at Ghent.

I now come to the *paper-marks* in this edition, which are three only in number : namely, an *Anchor*, a *Unicorn*, and a *Bull's Head* ; (see Plate 31, Nos. 1, 2, 3.) and as some argument may be drawn from the situations they occupy in the work, I have judged it advisable to lay before the reader the following dissection, if I may so call it, of the different gatherings (as I shall also do with the other editions) with the particular mark on each sheet, as found in Mr. Inglis's copy, and in the copy at Haerlem ; for, as the leaves in Mr. Van Hulthem's were pasted, I could not so conveniently distinguish the mark of each particular sheet in his copy, though as far as I could,



I found them to correspond with those of the other two copies. I have already said that the work is divided into five gatherings. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that cuts 1 and 14, (*a. a.*) occupy the same sheet, and so 2 and 13, (*b. b.*) 3 and 12, (*c. c.*) and so on : it is of course quite immaterial whether the mark chance to be found on the first or the last leaf of a sheet ; and, therefore, to facilitate the comparison of the two copies, it is uniformly noticed, as if on the first leaf of each sheet, in the following table.

### SPECULUM. FIRST LATIN EDITION.

#### 1st Gathering. *The Preface—3 sheets.*

Van Hulthem's copy	U (No. <sup>2</sup> )	B H ( <sup>3</sup> )	B H ( <sup>3</sup> )			
Mr. Inglis'	U	B H ( <sup>3</sup> )	B H ( <sup>3</sup> )			
	<i>blank,</i>	p. 1.	2	3	4	5
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c—c</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	

#### 2d Gathering. *Cuts 1 to 14—7 sheets.*

Haerlem	A <sup>(1)</sup>	A	A	A	A	A	A								
Inglis	A	A	A	A	A	A	A								
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g—g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>		

#### 3d Gathering. *Cuts 15 to 28—7 sheets.*

Haerlem	A	A	A	A	A	A	A								
Inglis	A	A	A	A	A	A	A								
	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g—g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>		

#### 4th Gathering. *Cuts 29 to 42—7 sheets.*

Haerlem	A	A	A	A	A	A	A								
Inglis	A	U <sup>(2)</sup>	A	A	A	A	A								
	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g—g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>		

#### 5th Gathering. *Cuts 43 to 58—8 sheets.*

Haerlem	A	U <sup>(2)</sup>	U	U	U	U	U	U								
Inglis	A	U	U	U	U	U	U	U								
	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h—h</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	

I have before conjectured, that the printer begun this edition by printing the preface, as it existed in the manuscript before him; but that, having been afterwards induced to abridge the work in the latter part, he cancelled it, and printed it again with the necessary alterations. It is I think evident, from the above table, that the first part printed of the work, as we now have it, was the second gathering, (the first with cuts) that then the third, fourth, and fifth gatherings were printed, and lastly the preface. We may conclude that the printer first provided himself with a quantity of paper which chanced to be marked with the *anchor*; and that, when this was nearly expended, he purchased a smaller quantity marked with the *unicorn*, in order to complete it; but that some circumstance occurred at last, which made it necessary for him to go again to the stationer, when a few quires chanced to be sold to him marked with the above *bull's-head*, which consequently appears on two sheets of the preface, (the other sheet having the *unicorn*, like those in the 5th gathering) and in no other part of the book.

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#### THE FIRST DUTCH SPECULUM.

It naturally enough suggested itself to the printer of the Speculum, that an edition in the vernacular tongue might be very acceptable to such as were unskilled in the learned languages: he, therefore, caused his book to be translated, and *the Second edition is in Dutch prose*. The text in this edition is all printed with the same type as the First Latin; except two pages in the last gathering, which are printed in an inferior manner, with a type somewhat different, and upon which I shall presently remark further.

How long a period intervened between the completion of the first Latin edition and the commencement of this, I have no means of discovering. None of the paper-marks are the same as in the first Latin: for though more than three-fourths of this Dutch edition are printed on paper bearing the mark of the *Unicorn*, it is paper made from



quite a different mould ; the animal, here, being represented length-wise, if I may so express myself, on the half-sheet, so that the outlines of his back and belly take the same direction as the upright wire-marks, dividing at intervals the half-sheet ; whilst, in the Latin edition, his figure stands crossing the paper, and the outlines of his back and belly are intersected at right-angles by the said upright wire-marks ; besides which, the *Bull's-heads* in the last gathering, are different from that in the preface of the first edition.

But all this will best appear from the following table of the paper-marks of the different gatherings in this edition, as they occur in the copies of Lord Spencer and Mr. Enschedé, and a reference to Plate 31, in which they are severally drawn.

### FIRST DUTCH EDITION.

#### 1st Gathering. The Preface—2 sheets.

Mr. Enschedé's copy U<sup>(2\*)</sup> U

Lord Spencer's copy U U

pag. 1. 2. 3. 4.

a b——b a

#### 2d Gathering. Cuts 1 to 14—7 sheets.

Enschedé U U U P<sup>(7)</sup> U U U

Spencer U U U U U U U

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.

a b c d e f g—g f e d c b a

#### 3d Gathering. Cuts 15 to 28—7 sheets.

Enschedé U U U U U U U

Spencer U U U U U U U

15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.

a b c d e f g—g f e d c b a

#### 4th Gathering. Cuts 29 to 42—7 sheets.

Enschedé U U U U U U U

Spencer U U U U U U U

29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42.

a b c d e f g—g f e d c b a

#### 5th Gathering. Cuts 43 to 58—8 sheets.

Enschedé U BH<sup>(4)</sup> BH<sup>(5)</sup> P<sup>(7)</sup> BH<sup>(4)</sup> P<sup>(7)</sup> P<sup>(8)</sup> P<sup>(8)</sup>

Spencer U BH<sup>(4)</sup> BH<sup>(5)</sup> P<sup>(7)</sup> BH<sup>(4)</sup> P<sup>(7)</sup> P<sup>(8)</sup> P<sup>(8)</sup>

43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55.

a b c d e f g h—h g f e d

56.

57. 58.

c

b a

old type.

old type.

Upon comparing the above table with that, before given, of the gatherings of the first Latin edition, the reader will scarcely fail to be struck with a remarkable coincidence ; namely, that, from the beginning of the work to the 43d cut inclusive, one paper-mark, viz. the *anchor*, in the Latin edition, and the *unicorn*, in the Dutch, constantly occurs : I except, of course, the preface, as we now have it, in the Latin edition, supposing, as I have said, that part to have been *reprinted*, at last, and the original preface to have been cancelled. These 24 or 25 sheets of paper, being the twentieth part of a ream, (for it is certain that paper was sold in packages of that denomination at a very early period) lead me to suppose that the printer of the *Speculum*, upon commencing each of these editions, purchased one, two, or three reams of paper, determining to print either twenty, or forty, or sixty copies of the work. Whichever the number, his one, or his two, or three reams, would be expended when he got to the 44th or 45th cut ; and, in order to complete the 5th gathering, it would be necessary for him to purchase a smaller quantity of other paper, as he appears to have done for both these editions. Perhaps the reader will be of opinion, that this coincidence in the two editions is somewhat favorable to the above conjecture, that the preface to the Latin edition was originally printed in a different form from what it has at present, and that it was afterwards reprinted.

In this edition, the two pages which contain the cuts 45 and 56, and form the third sheet of the fifth gathering, are printed with type unlike the rest : for, although of the genuine black-letter character, it differs considerably, from the other, not only in the forms of several of its letters—the capital A, for example, and the capital D—but also in its size ; twenty-seven lines of text, in these two pages, occupying only about the same space as twenty-five lines in the other pages of the volume. Some letters, also, are found joined to others following them, in this type, which never occur so joined in the other, as the consonants b and h, followed by the vowels a, e, and i. Moreover, this type, when applied to the purpose of completing these two pages, appears to have been in much worse condition than the other ;



so as to render it difficult to believe that the printer would have resorted to it, except as a matter of necessity. The paper-mark, also, of this sheet, is different from all the rest.

When, therefore, these two pages were printed, the type used for the rest of the work had disappeared. It is difficult to conceive that the original printer could have printed them; for, supposing him to have lost his first type, what was to prevent him from making other type like it? It is probable, therefore, that he was dead or superannuated when the above disaster occurred, or that he died soon afterwards, and that the two pages in question were added by his heir and successor. This person, it may be conjectured, upon coming into the property, found, among other things, the present Dutch edition of the *Speculum*, wanting only two pages; and in order to make it saleable it was necessary to finish it. But, from his youth, or other causes, he had been, perhaps, but imperfectly instructed by his predecessor in the mysteries of the typographic art; and more especially was incompetent to the task of making new type. And, therefore, in order to finish these two pages, he was obliged to have recourse to the remains of some old type which, many years before, perhaps, had been thrown aside by the original printer, as no longer fit for use.

But, besides the inferiority of the type, the ink of those two pages appears browner, and of less consistency than that of the other parts of the work, and in other respects the printing shews itself the essay of a tyro in the art. The ink in the second Dutch edition, hereafter to be spoken of, has the same brown tint and oleaginous appearance; which, together with the other imperfections of that edition, seem to furnish grounds for conjecturing that it may have been printed by the same individual who printed the above two pages of the first Dutch edition: though I would not too much insist upon this.

The fractures discoverable in the cuts in this edition, in parts which are perfect in the preceding one, are very trifling and few in number; though still sufficient of themselves to prove the priority of the Latin edition. Upon comparing Mr. Enschedé's copy, with the

first Latin edition at the Hotel de Ville, at Haerlem, I noticed only the following, which I have not thought it necessary to have engraved :

In the *27th Cut*, in the *first Latin* edition, the bottom line of the block is entire.

In the *first Dutch*, it is broken in two small places, under the left-hand subject, and also under the pilaster on the right.

In *Cut 34*, the arch over the story of Sanger is a little broken on the left, in the *first Latin* edition.

In the *first Dutch*, the fracture is augmented.

In the *35th Cut*, the marginal line at top is perfect in the *first Latin*.

In the *first Dutch*, it is broken and dislocated over the central pillar.

In the *54th Cut*, the base of the pilaster on the left has a line perfect in the *first Latin*, which is broken in the *first Dutch* edition.

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#### THE SECOND LATIN EDITION.

THE Third Edition of the Speculum has the text in the Latin language, like the first, and is printed with the same type ; excepting twenty pages, which, as before stated, have the text printed by friction from engraved blocks, with a brown tint, like the cuts themselves.

This circumstance has long occasioned this edition to be considered as the first ; and Heinecken, as we have seen, was of opinion,

“ That it was commenced, just at the time of the invention of printing, by some unknown wood-engraver, who, after he had proceeded some way in the work, became informed of the new method of printing with moveable types, and therefore finished it in that manner.”

I have already admitted that, upon a first view, this hypothesis seemed to me not unreasonable ; I have now to shew that it is not



well founded ; for that the twenty pages of block printing were added afterwards. This I shall presently prove beyond all doubt, and it will, therefore, follow inevitably, that, excepting those twenty pages, this Latin edition was all printed before the disaster, lately spoken of, took place, which rendered it necessary to print two pages of the Dutch edition with type different from the rest ; in short, that when that event occurred, both these editions remained imperfect, the one wanting two pages, the other twenty.

But how are we to account for this ? Is it probable that the printer would throw aside his Dutch edition, when it only wanted two pages to make it saleable, in order to begin a second Latin edition ? I think not. Had the Dutch edition a dozen pages printed with type different from the rest, instead of two, the case would appear different ; and the circumstance of the two editions happening to be incomplete, when the said disaster took place, might be accounted for, by supposing that the sale of the Latin edition had been more rapid than the printer had anticipated ; that the demand for copies was greater than he foresaw he should be able to satisfy without a new edition ; and that, therefore, he deemed it prudent to throw aside for a time his Dutch edition, (of which the public knew nothing) notwithstanding it was far advanced, in order to be ready with a further supply of Latin copies as they might be wanted.

Under the circumstances, therefore, we must look for another mode of accounting for the two editions having been left imperfect by the original printer ; and the only way of doing so, that I can think of, is by supposing that, latterly, both were in progress at the same time.

It is quite certain that some of the pages in the Dutch edition (those under Cuts 3 and 12, for example, one of the vignettes of which shews a notable fracture in the 2d Latin edition,) were printed before the same pages, also printed with type, in the second Latin ; and it is very probable that the Dutch edition was far advanced, before the rapid sale of the first Latin edition occasioned the second Latin to be put in hand. I conjecture that the printer then took an assistant, who possessed a sufficient knowledge of Latin for his purpose, whom,

after he had sworn to secrecy, he instructed in the mode of joining the characters of the different lines, in the way before mentioned, and of arranging and fixing them in the form, &c.; that so, this person might forward under his directions, and with his occasional help, the new Latin edition, while he himself proceeded with the Dutch one.

It is remarkable that in printing the second Latin edition, the different gatherings appear to have been taken in hand very irregularly, as the reader will at once perceive from the following table, in which the paper-marks of each sheet are described as I found them in three copies, which I have had the opportunity of examining; viz. that of Lord Spencer; that formerly in the possession of Mr. Hibbert, and afterwards in that of Mr. Douce; and that formerly belonging to Mr. Singer, which last wanted three or four leaves, and has been since taken to pieces and dispersed. In order further to increase the interest of this table, the twenty pages which have the text printed from engraved blocks, are distinguished from the others, by being enclosed within a line; and the particular cuts which exhibit fractures, in parts not so fractured in the two preceding editions, are marked thus ‡. The reader will not fail to observe, that most of these fractures occur in those cuts, the pages of text under which, are printed from engraved blocks.

None of the *paper-marks*, in this edition, appear to me to be identically the same as any of those in the two preceding editions; though it has some sheets, marked with a *capital P*, a good deal resembling that in the Dutch copy, and others bearing an *anchor*, so like that in the first Latin, that I have thought it unnecessary to repeat the representation of this mark in the Plate. [See Plate 31, to which the numbers in the following table, denoting the different paper-marks, refer.] In short the paper, although of the same size, and generally of the same quality, as that in preceding editions, and perhaps in great part made by the same manufacturers, was not taken from the same reams, and was probably not fabricated at the same period.



## THE SECOND LATIN EDITION.

1st Gathering. The Preface—3 sheets.

Mr. Singer's copy, (—) (—) (No. 8)  
 Mr. Hibbert's copy, (1) (8) (11)  
 Earl Spencer's copy, (—) (8) (11)  
 blank p. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.  
                   a    b    c—c   b   a

2d Gathering. Cuts 1 to 14—7 sheets.

|         |      |      |      |     |      |     |     |    |    |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
|---------|------|------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|--|
| Singer  | (10) | (10) | (1)  | (1) | (10) | (—) | (6) |    |    |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
| Hibbert | (1)  | (1)  | (10) | (1) | (1)  | (1) | (1) |    |    |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
| Spencer | (6)  | (6)  | (1)  | (1) | (8)  | (8) | (8) |    |    |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
|         | 1.   | 2.   | 3.   | 4.  | 5.   | 6.  | 7.  | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. | 12. | 13. | 14. |  |  |
|         | a    | b    | c    | d   | e    | f   | g—g | f  | e  | d   |     | c   | b   | a   |  |  |
|         | †    | †    |      |     |      |     | †   | †  | †  | †   |     | †   |     | †   |  |  |

3d Gathering. Cuts 15 to 28—7 sheets.

|         |      |      |     |      |      |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
|---------|------|------|-----|------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|--|
| Singer  | (—)  | (6)  | (6) | (11) | (10) | (11) | (6) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
| Hibbert | (11) | (10) | (1) | (11) | (11) | (11) | (1) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
| Spencer | (11) | (8)  | (8) | (11) | (10) | (11) | (8) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
|         | 15.  | 16.  | 17. | 18.  | 19.  | 20.  | 21. | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 28. |  |  |
|         | a    | b    | c   | d    | e    | f    | g—g | f   | e   | d   |     | c   | b   | a   |  |  |
|         |      |      | †   |      |      |      |     |     |     |     |     | †   | †   |     |  |  |

4th Gathering. Cuts 29 to 42—7 sheets.

|         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|--|
| Singer  | (10) | (10) | (1)  | (11) | (11) | (11) | (11) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
| Hibbert | (11) | (10) | (1)  | (11) | (11) | (11) | (11) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
| Spencer | (11) | (11) | (11) | (11) | (11) | (11) | (11) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |  |  |
|         | 29.  | 30.  | 31.  | 32.  | 33.  | 34.  | 35.  | 36. | 37. | 38. | 39. | 40. | 41. | 42. |  |  |
|         | a    | b    | c    | d    | e    | f    | g—g  | f   | e   | d   |     | c   | b   | a   |  |  |

5th Gathering. Cuts 43 to 58—8 sheets.

|         |      |      |      |     |     |      |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|---------|------|------|------|-----|-----|------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Singer  | (—)  | (—)  | (11) | (6) | (1) | (11) | (1)  | (1) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| Hibbert | (8)  | (11) | (11) | (1) | (1) | (9)  | (11) | (1) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| Spencer | (12) | (11) | (11) | (8) | (1) | (9)  | (1)  | (1) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|         | 43.  | 44.  | 45.  | 46. | 47. | 48.  | 49.  | 50. | 51. | 52. | 53. | 54. | 55. | 56. | 57. | 58. |
|         | a    | b    | c    | d   | e   | f    | g    | h—h | g   | f   | e   |     | d.  | c   | b   | a   |
|         |      |      |      | †   |     |      |      |     |     |     |     |     | †   |     |     |     |

It is seen in this Table, that the paper-marks on the sheets printed with type in the above three copies, agree very nearly. But it is quite otherwise in the ten sheets in which the text is printed from engraved blocks of wood; Mr. Singer's copy, which, as I said, was imperfect, having in these sheets once the *Anchor*<sup>(1)</sup>, three times the *Y*<sup>(10)</sup>, and five times the *Bull's Head*<sup>(6)</sup>; Mr. Hibbert's, nine times the *Anchor*<sup>(1)</sup>, and once the *Y*<sup>(10)</sup>; and Lord Spencer's, having once the *Anchor*<sup>(1)</sup>, twice the *Bull's Head*<sup>(6)</sup>, and seven times the *P*<sup>(8)</sup>; whence we may conclude, that the printer only took off a *small number* of impressions of *these blocks at a time*, to complete the copies for which he had an immediate prospect of sale; using them as we now do Stereotype.

It has been seen that the sheet printed with type different from the rest, in the first Dutch edition, is not the last sheet of the last gathering, but the third : and therefore, without any reference to the edition now under examination, we should have grounds for concluding that the printer of the *Speculum*, having once settled its plan, did not feel himself bound to begin by printing the first sheet of a gathering, then the second, and so on ; but that he considered himself at full liberty to begin at the middle or at the end, as might best suit his convenience. That such was indeed the case, is sufficiently evident in this second Latin edition ; which presents such an extraordinary mixture of type and block-printing, in all the gatherings except two, as would seem utterly unaccountable, but for the consideration, that, as each sheet throughout the book, and in all the editions, was to contain four particular columns of text, each complete in itself, with their accompanying vignettes, it mattered not which was printed first, or which last ; as, when they were all done, they could readily be put in their proper places, according to the rule previously laid down.

But though strict regularity of procedure, in printing the different gatherings, was not of importance ; still, it is not likely that so large a portion of the first part of the work should have been deferred to the last, as we see to have been the case in this edition, except for a particular reason.

The preface, I conjecture to have been the first part printed in this edition, as in the Dutch one ; but, after this, it is probable the 5th gathering was taken in hand, which excepting one sheet, is all printed with moveable type, and then the 4th gathering ; and that the 2d and 1st gatherings were begun the last.

The way in which I would account for this is as follows : The Dutch edition, which had been undertaken long before, had been begun, like the previous Latin edition, at the beginning : the process of rubbing off the cuts, at the tops of the pages, was to be performed after the text was printed ; and, as has been said, it was desirable that this should be done as soon as convenient after the printing of the



text of the different sheets, in order to avoid confusion and to prevent error. When this second Latin edition was commenced, the cuts of the early part of the work were probably in use for the Dutch edition ; and I conjecture that it was therefore found expedient to begin by printing the latter gatherings of this second Latin edition instead of the first.

I have now to speak of the variations, in the setting up of the type, which appear upon comparing together any two pages of the Latin editions, which are printed in both of them with moveable characters.

If a printer of the present day, who had recently printed any given work, were required to *reprint a page* of it, of the same dimensions, without alteration, and with the same type, such is the exactness of resemblance and size in all the different specimens of the same letter, that, if the compositor committed no error, the new page would, as a matter of course, be scarcely if at all distinguishable from its prototype ; even though no idea had existed in the mind of the printer of making the one an exact fac-simile of the other.

But it was far otherwise in the infancy of typography ; when, besides the variations of size and form in the different specimens of the same character, occasioned by the imperfect modes of preparing the type then practised, numerous abbreviations were used, especially in the Latin language : insomuch, that, by the more frequent or sparing introduction of these, a line might be shortened or lengthened at pleasure ; as, upon comparing the first Latin edition of the *Speculum* with the second, we perceive to have been done in the latter, in numerous instances.

By the kindness of my friends Mr. Inglis and Mr. Douce, I have had the opportunity of collating these two editions, and of making notes of their variations. A few of those in the pages printed in both with moveable type, are here laid before the reader : it will be seen that some of the alterations in the second edition are corrections, and that not a few are blunders of the compositor. I shall afterwards remark upon those pages which are printed from engraved blocks in the second Latin.

It may be proper to premise, that although, in many cases, I have mentioned only *one* or *two* variations in a page, an average of not less than from *twenty* to *thirty* might have been particularized, had it appeared desirable to enter so minutely into detail. Upon opening the two editions at the same page, the difference between them is most striking; and upon examination it will be seen, that two consecutive lines are seldom set up exactly alike in both; and that in most of the lines a word (nay, sometimes, two or three) is more or less contracted in one edition, than in the other.

I ought not to omit to add, that the inner margin of the pages, where the sheet is doubled, is so narrow in the first edition, that, when the book is bound, the first letters of the lines are sometimes partly hid by the binding; and that the printer corrected this error in the present edition, by making the inner margin somewhat wider.

## PREFACE.

(The First Number denotes the Page, the Second the Line.)

In the First Latin Edition, the first *two* lines of the text at the beginning of the work are commenced  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch from the left hand edge of the page, in order to leave room for the large initial P, afterwards to be put in by the rubricator.

In the Second Latin, the first *five* lines are commenced *one inch and*  $\frac{1}{8}$  from the left hand edge of the page; so as to afford space for the introduction of a much larger initial P, by the rubricator.

| 1st LATIN EDITION.          | 2d LATIN EDITION.                                                                                                  |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1, 31, 'fuguis,'            | 'figuris.'                                                                                                         |
| 2, 6, 'resplendebant,'      | 'rerplendebāt.'                                                                                                    |
| 24, 'ioseph,'               | 'yoseph.'                                                                                                          |
| 27, 'conā,' (for 'corona,') | 'tonā.'                                                                                                            |
| 28, 'abcisum,'              | 'obcisum.'                                                                                                         |
| 39, 'penetēciā,'            | corrected 'peñtentē,' (for penitentem)<br>making it rhyme with 'volentem,'<br>the last word of the line following. |
| 3, 13, 'magnus passchalis,' | 'agnus passchalis.'                                                                                                |
| 17, 'sexcentos,'            | 'sextentos.'                                                                                                       |
| 31, 'flagellatus'           | 'flagellatus.'                                                                                                     |
| 4, 39, 'qun,'               | 'qui.'                                                                                                             |
| 5, 13, 'abrahā,'            | 'abrehū.'                                                                                                          |



## OF THE PAGES WITH CUTS.

(The First Number denotes the Cut, the Letter (*a*) or (*b*) the Column of Text, and the Number following, the Line.)

| 1st LATIN EDITION.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 2d LATIN EDITION.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3, ( <i>a</i> ) 6, ' <i>pauprates</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | ' <i>paupertatis.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| ( <i>b</i> ) 6, ' <i>demon bus</i> ' (the <i>i</i> being omitted),                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | ' <i>demonibus.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 12, ( <i>a</i> ) At some distance from the end of the last line but two, two letters <b>gr</b> , part of the blank type used for filling up the vacant spaces of the column, have broken thro' the paper by which they were covered, and are printed black. They are awry and do not range with the line. | and in Col. ( <i>b</i> ) at the end of line 13, the following letters ' <i>udotuuue</i> ,' (part of the blank type, and somewhat awry) which were not intended to print, are printed by a blunder of the person who cut out the paper which was to cover the margin and blank type. |
| ( <i>b</i> ) 14, ' <i>repellebat,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | ' <i>repellabat.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| ( <i>b</i> ) 15, ' <i>pulcrima</i> ' for ' <i>pulcherima,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | by error ' <i>puichrimo.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 15, ( <i>a</i> ) 4, ' <i>exptābāt,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | ' <i>expectabāt.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 18, ( <i>a</i> ) 5, ' <i>videlicz,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | ' <i>videlitz.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 7, ' <i>Designat..castitatem,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | ' <i>Desigat . . castitatē.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 9, ' <i>reputat,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | ' <i>reputatur.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 11, ' <i>caitatē,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | ' <i>caritatē.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 19, ( <i>a</i> ) 6, ' <i>virilicō nxxcione,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | ' <i>virili connxtione.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| at bottom, ' <i>Kuce pmo Caplo,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | ' <i>Luce pmo Capl<sup>o</sup>.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| ( <i>b</i> ) 16, ' <i>tastamēti,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | ' <i>testamēti.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 20, ( <i>a</i> ) 9, ' <i>lāpades,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | ' <i>lampades.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 23, ( <i>a</i> ) 1, ' <i>capl<sup>o</sup>,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | ' <i>ca<sup>o</sup>.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 24, ( <i>a</i> ) 1, ' <i>gētil,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | ' <i>gentilis.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 25, ( <i>a</i> ) 5, ' <i>itelligendū,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | ' <i>itelligēdū.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 28, ( <i>a</i> ) 1, ' <i>quādā,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | ' <i>quādam.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 29, ( <i>a</i> ) 2, ' <i>pata,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | ' <i>pacta.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 30, ( <i>a</i> ) 2, ' <i>protestamur,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | ' <i>prostestatur.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 31, ( <i>a</i> ) 3, ' <i>appiquāte,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | ' <i>appropiquāte.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 32, ( <i>a</i> ) 12, ' <i>surrexērt,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | ' <i>surirexērt.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 33, ( <i>a</i> ) 4, ' <i>facēt,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | ' <i>faceret.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 34, ( <i>a</i> ) 3, ' <i>inussos,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | ' <i>inuos.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 35, ( <i>a</i> ) 13, ' <i>videt,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | ' <i>videtur.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 36, ( <i>a</i> ) 4, ' <i>Q<sup>i</sup>a,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | ' <i>Quia.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 37, ( <i>a</i> ) 1, ' <i>tdit<sup>s</sup>,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | ' <i>tradit<sup>s</sup>.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 38, ( <i>a</i> ) 2, ' <i>habebant,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | ' <i>habebāt.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 39, ( <i>a</i> ) 2, ' <i>audia<sup>s</sup>,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | ' <i>audiam<sup>s</sup>.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 40, ( <i>a</i> ) 1, ' <i>ligat<sup>s</sup>,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | ' <i>ligatus.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| last line, ' <i>suffecit,</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | ' <i>rūffecit.</i> '                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

|         | 1st LATIN EDITION.         | 2d LATIN EDITION. |
|---------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 41, (a) | 1, 'qūo,'                  | 'qo.'             |
| 42, (a) | 6, 'pfiguata,'             | 'pfigurata.'      |
| 43, (a) | 1, 'cōnacione,'            | 'coronacione.'    |
| 44, (a) | 3, 'pciebat,'              | 'paciebat.'       |
| 45, (a) | 4, 'valobat,'              | 'valebat.'        |
| 47, (a) | 2, 'pmrāuit,'              | 'pmāuit.'         |
| 48, (a) | 2, 'scōrum,'               | 'scōrū.'          |
| 49, (a) | 2, 'dolorem,'              | 'dolorē.'         |
| 50, (a) | 4, 'legūt,'                | 'legūtur.'        |
| 51, (a) | 2, 'audiam <sup>s</sup> ,' | 'audiamus.'       |
| 52, (a) | 4, 'eī discipuli,'         | 'enī discipuli.'  |
| 53, (a) | 7, 'libeāre,'              | 'lideeāre.'       |
| 54, (a) | 5, 'pfiguāuit'             | 'pfigurauit.'     |
| 56, (a) | 3, 'primo,'                | 'pmo.'            |
| 57, (a) | 2, 'discte,'               | 'districte.'      |

Cut. 58. In order to give a more complete idea of the numerous changes in setting the type of the Second Latin Edition, I shall here notice all the describable differences I found in this the last page.

|                  | 1st LATIN EDITION.                    | 2d LATIN EDITION.              |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Col. (a) line 1, | 'Semeitas,'                           | 'Seneitas.'                    |
| 2,               | 'qb <sup>s</sup> ,'                   | 'qbus.'                        |
| 5,               | 'negabāt,'                            | 'negabant.'                    |
| 6,               | 'letabūtur et,'                       | 'letabūt <sup>r</sup> &.'      |
| 7,               | 'vgiēs fatms subsānabāt,'             | 'vgines fatuis subsannabāt.'   |
| 9,               | 'face...videbūt <sup>r</sup> illude,' | 'facti....videbūtur illudere,' |
| 12,              | 'et,'                                 | '&.'                           |
| 15 and 16,       | 'et,'                                 | '&.'                           |
| 18,              | 'vobis,'                              | 'voli.'                        |
| 20,              | 'velocit <sup>r</sup> ,'              | 'velociter.'                   |
| 21,              | 'iueniebant,'                         | 'iueniebāt.'                   |
| 22,              | 'vobis....audiebāt,'                  | 'voli....audiebant.'           |
| 23,              | ' <sup>9</sup> tiget,'                | 'cōtinget.'                    |
| 25,              | 'indicādi....sptura,'                 | 'indicandi....scriptura.'      |
| Col. (b) 1,      | 'cont,'                               | 'cōt'                          |
| 2,               | 'scribebat <sup>r</sup> ,'            | 'scribebatur.'                 |
| 5,               | 'malo <sup>2</sup> ,'                 | 'mblo <sup>2</sup> .'          |
| 8,               | 'eī,'                                 | 'enī.'                         |
| 10,              | 'nuauit,'                             | 'numerauit.'                   |
| 11,              | 'expdim <sup>s</sup> ,'               | 'expēdim <sup>s</sup> .'       |
| 13,              | 'corā....oñderet,'                    | 'coram....oñdet.'              |
| 14,              | 'tāti,'                               | 'tanti.'                       |
| 15,              | 'talēta,'                             | 'talenta.'                     |
| 17,              | 'aurū īfinitū,'                       | 'aurum īfinitum.'              |
| 18,              | 'deuociōe,'                           | 'deuocione.'                   |



| 1st LATIN EDITION.                | 2d LATIN EDITION.     |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Col. (b) line 20, ' vltimū....h,' | ' vltimum...hec.'     |
| 21, ' dāpnatoꝝ...didetur,'        | ' dappnatoꝝ...didet'. |
| 24, ' pducē,'                     | ' pducere.'           |
| at bottom, ' Danielis,'           | ' Daniel.'            |

But if *the pages printed from engraved blocks*, in the Second Latin Edition, be compared with the same pages in the First Edition, we shall not find these changes.

Although, when I wrote upon this subject twenty years ago, I was fully satisfied, as I then said, that the twenty pages of block-printing, in the Second Latin edition, were of later date than the rest of the work, and that they had been engraved for the express purpose of completing the copies of this edition ; still I was not then aware that such undeniable evidence existed of the fact, as I afterwards discovered. Suffice it to say, that, upon an opportunity being afforded me of comparing this edition with the First Latin, I immediately perceived (and I was rather gratified than surprized at the discovery) that those twenty pages in the Second Latin, are no other than *fac-simile imitations of the same pages, as printed with type in the first edition*.

The printer, or his successor, as has been said, having been deprived of the type hitherto used in the work, printed the two pages wanting to complete his Dutch edition with the remains of some old type, a little different, which had previously been thrown aside, as no longer fit for use. But, in doing it, he experienced, perhaps, more trouble than he had anticipated ; and as twenty pages, instead of two, were wanting to complete the Second Latin Edition, he now bethought himself of another mode of procedure. Having taken from a copy of the first Latin edition, the ten sheets containing the twenty pages wanting to complete the second edition, and having corrected with a pen a letter here and there misprinted, he delivered those sheets to a wood-engraver, with directions to copy them exactly ; and the engraver executed the commission, by first glueing those ten sheets with their face downwards upon ten prepared blocks of wood (according to the method then used), then, rendering the paper transparent by oil or otherwise, and, lastly, by cutting away the wood around the letters.





Vel sex grad? salomois thronus habebat  
Quia post sex etates mudi maria nata erat  
Duodecim leonum sup thronu sex grad? exorbant  
quia duodecim apli mane tñ regie celi ministrabant  
Secundi regu v capto

Vel sex grad? salomois thron? habebat  
Quia post sex etates mudi maria nata erat  
Duodecim leo mli sup thronu sex grad? exorbant  
quia duodecim apli mane tñ regie celi ministrabant  
Secundi regu v capto

Et mirra passionis p mortis ei? recomendatio  
O bone ihu da nobis ita te diligere et tibi gaudere ne

Et mirra passionis p mortis ei? recomendatione  
O bone ihu da nobis ita te diligere et tibi gaudere

Tres magi venerunt bethleem p aq grē eterne  
Tres robusti hauserunt aq de cisterna fressi  
Tres magi susceperunt aq de patria celesti  
figuabant ergo bethleem illa dei cisterna  
Quot bethleem nascitur? est celestis picea  
Mathei scdo capto

Tres magi venerunt bethleem p aq grē eterne  
Tres robusti hauserunt aq de cisterna fressi  
Tres magi susceperunt aq de patria celesti  
figuabant ergo bethleem illa dei cisterna  
Quot bethleem nascitur? est celestis picea  
Mathei scdo capto





|      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                   |                                                                                             |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I    | potens Quod modis noia cōponit̃ q̃tuor quibus<br>duob? integris vs suburbanus ex duobus corrup                                                                                                                                                                                  | I                 | aut<br>quid                                                                                 |
| I    | campū vto o scampū abltō ab h̃ scampno apl̃ nro<br>c scāpna grō hoz scampnoz dō h̃ys scāpnis accō<br>c scampna vto o scampna ,bltō ab h̃ys scampnis                                                                                                                             | I                 | iplos<br>sub ad<br>habz                                                                     |
| II   | impet̃ q̃uor modis noia cōponunt̃ quatuor quib?<br>ex duobus integris vs suburbanus ex duobus corrup                                                                                                                                                                            | II                | aut<br>quid                                                                                 |
| II   | scampnō vto o scampnū ablato ab h̃ scāpno apl̃ nro<br>hec scampna grō hoz scampnoz dō h̃ys scāpnis accō<br>hec scampna vto o scampna ablato ab h̃ys scampnis                                                                                                                    | II                | iplos<br>sub ad<br>habet                                                                    |
| III  | audiere phet̃o p̃p̃p̃fō andiuerā andiueras audiuerā<br>xpl̃ audiueram? andiuerat̃ andiuerūt futiō audis̃ an                                                                                                                                                                     |                   |                                                                                             |
| IV   | is andiuerunt uel andiuerit phet̃o p̃p̃p̃fō au<br>a audiueras audiuerāt̃ xpl̃ audiueramus aud                                                                                                                                                                                   |                   |                                                                                             |
| V    | E n gpes triplicat̃ pes cet̃a q̃ t̃ forinat̃<br>R āq̃ dā ābet? elum gmedoz cōmestū<br>H oc vulgus pelagus indeclābile viris<br>A D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T V X                                                                                                          |                   |                                                                                             |
| VI   | S icrells ac themelis ac h̃istologia subltū<br>H ys x anastrophā vltā parit̃ p̃ethelis addi<br>S ed tamē r cet̃i ubi vltā rim? anociant̃<br>C redo grad? lummos collatis gnumerādos<br>A C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T V                                                  |                   |                                                                                             |
| VII  | Sz nō vlt̃ mū ad modicū vos p̃sternē<br>Hoc fāt̃ ut ostendat̃ se volutarie mortē sustinere                                                                                                                                                                                      | X                 | orto gdufo<br>gtēplationē                                                                   |
| VIII | Sz nō vlt̃ nisi ad modicū vōs prosterne<br>Hoc fāt̃ ut ostendat̃ se volutarie mortē sustinere                                                                                                                                                                                   | XI                | capn / Caym / Capm<br>tubalkaym / tubalkann<br>tubalkaym / ewāgelistatū<br>tthronū / thronū |
| IX   | Quenq̃ vlt̃ idicat̃ deus et cui vlt̃ misere                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                   |                                                                                             |
| XII  | vltus / gtēplabat̃ / gē / gsputus / gdolebant̃ / gtingit̃ / gfod̃s<br>gcipt̃ / n̄t̃platur / gietur / glibū / gūmiret̃ / glibūti / vlt / vlturū<br>vlt / vltū vltū / et / ewāgelitū // gūmābitur ī gspū vltus<br>elāgelitū / elāgelizaret / adiuro / est / gchū / gē / vis vlt / | XIII<br>XIV<br>XV |                                                                                             |

By this process, it would of course happen, as it has, that where a line chanced to be zigzag or curved in the original, the copy would present the same appearance; and that the particular letters in the different lines would range under one another alike in both, as is indeed constantly the case in all these twenty pages. The variety in the setting of the type, in those pages which in both editions are printed with moveable characters, and the similarity of the pages of block-printing with the same pages printed with type in the first edition, are exemplified in the annexed Plate 10; where two specimens of the former kind, (*a. b.*) from the text under Cut 18, and one of the latter, (*c.*) from that under the 17th Cut, are engraved.<sup>56</sup>

I have stated that before the ten printed sheets of the first edition were delivered to the wood-engraver to copy, a letter here and there misprinted had been corrected with a pen. The following list contains such of these amendments as I observed, with the addition of a few blunders which we must ascribe to the artist's ignorance of Latin, or to the occurrence of small accidents during the operation of cutting the blocks.

(The First Number denotes the Cut, the Letter (*a*) or (*b*) the Column of Text, and the Number following the Line.)

| FIRST LATIN EDITION.                                                                                                   | SECOND LATIN EDITION.                                                                                                                |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 ( <i>b</i> ) 4, ' <i>Quot evā...plasmavis,</i> '                                                                     | ' <i>Q<sup>9</sup> evā...plasmavit,</i> ' making the last word rhyme with the last word of the preceding line, ' <i>hoēstavit.</i> ' |
| Notwithstanding the abbreviation of <i>Quot</i> , the word <i>evā</i> holds the exact same place in both the Editions. |                                                                                                                                      |
| 10, ' <i>tollateāli,</i> '                                                                                             | ' <i>collateāli.</i> '                                                                                                               |

<sup>56</sup> These small specimens may suffice to illustrate what I have said in the text. But my friend Mr. Sotheby (who has many years had in hand a very curious work of facsimiles of ancient specimens of typography) has caused entire pages of the different editions of the *Speculum* to be accurately copied; among them one of the block-printed pages of the Second Latin Edition: this he has had printed on transparent paper, in order that it may be placed upon the same page, printed with type, in the first edition; when in the beginnings and endings of every line, nay, in the situations of every letter and word, the page printed from an engraved block, in the one edition, is found to correspond exactly with the page printed with type, in the other.



## 1st LATIN EDITION.

- 1 (b) 17, 'ittitit,'  
 2 (a) 6, 'daud,'  
       17, 'dolore,'  
       24, 'pedes,'  
 4 (b) 2, 'iuuane indigē,'

- 16, 'decrevit nes,'  
 5 (a) 16, 'fuisse,'  
 6 (a) 4, 'libāvit,' (for 'liberavit,')

15 and 21, 'Quot,'

- 7 (a) last line, 'mollificaī,'

- in the reference at bottom,  
       ' distic<sup>o</sup> ijij,'  
 8 (b) 16, 'marinore,'  
       21, 'caītate,' (for 'caritate')  
 9 (a) 9, 'pciosa,' (for 'preciosa')  
 10 (a) 19, 'bat,' the last syllable  
       under the end of the line.  
 11 (a) 7, 'misteio frueret,'  
 13 (a) 9, 'dingnabat,'  
 14 (b) bottom, 'Genesis,'

- 16 (a) 5, 'medicina,'  
 17 (b) 13, 'Q,'  
 21 (b) 10, 'ergo,'  
 22, I find no describable variety  
       in this page.  
 26 (a) 17, 'eā in os,'

## 2d LATIN EDITION.

'istitit,'  
 'david,'  
 'doiore,'  
 'petes,'  
 'iuuamine indige.' the line being length-  
       ened; though, except from the place  
       where the additional letters begin,  
       the words and letters come exactly  
       under each other the same as in the  
       type of the first edition.

'decrevit nos,'  
 'luisse,'  
 'iibāvit,' part of the first letter having  
       been broken in the process of en-  
       graving it.  
 'Q<sup>9</sup>,' still the first letter of the next  
       word is under the same letter as in  
       the first edition.  
 'molliticat,' so that the engraver, tho'  
       he corrected the *t* at the end of the  
       word, committed the error of be-  
       ginning the third syllable with ano-  
       *t*, instead of an *f*.

'distic<sup>o</sup> viji,'  
 'marmore,'  
 'caltate,'  
 'pclosa,'  
 Omitted by inadvertency of the wood-  
       engraver.  
 'mistelo fruecet,'  
 'diuagebat,'  
 'Genesis ~~xxiii~~ ca<sup>o</sup>.' the number of the  
       chapter being evidently engraved  
       after a MS. addition in semi-cur-  
       sive by the person who corrected  
       the sheets of the first edition, before  
       they were given to the wood-en-  
       graver to copy.

by error: 'medichia,'  
 'Ql,'  
 'ecgo.'

'eā . . os,' the 'in' apparently broken  
       out by accident, during the process  
       of engraving.

1st LATIN EDITION,  
27, No describable variety in this  
page.

46 (a) 1, ‘*īuētor*,’

46 (b) 5, ‘*īhūtās*,’

55 (a) 1, ‘*redēpcionem*,’

2d LATIN EDITION.

‘*īētor*,’ as if the engraver had lost  
part of the second letter, and did  
not know the word.

‘*īhūās*.’

by error, ‘*redēpclonem*.’

I have already observed, of the above ten engraved blocks, that the proprietor of the work appears to have used them as we now do stereotype; taking off only a few impressions at a time, as they were wanted to complete copies for which he had an immediate demand; by which mode he avoided all unnecessary outlay for paper and printing. I may add, that I have invariably observed the two cuts and the two pages of text of any one of these ten sheets, to be printed with the *exact same tint*, whence we may conclude that the operation of rubbing off the cuts and the text of these sheets, was performed at the same time. Indeed, it appears, that, for the sake of doing this the more conveniently, the printer glued these pages of engraved text underneath the vignettes to which they belonged, before he printed them; for, upon comparing two copies of this edition together, I have always found, that the cuts in these pages range over the text exactly the same in both; which is not the case in those pages which have the text printed with type.

Enough has been said, to make it very evident, that the person who completed this and the last described edition of the Speculum, in the extraordinary manner we have seen, was obliged to do so in consequence of having been, by some means or other, deprived of the type hitherto used for the work.

But how could this have happened? Did this old printer lend his type to some friend, from whom he could not afterwards get it back again? In answer to this, I should say, that it is not probable he would thus deprive himself of the present means of completing the works he had in hand, and especially his Dutch edition of the Speculum, which only wanted two pages; and, besides, we have



no reason to believe that, when this work was printed, there existed other printers in his vicinity.

Again—Was his house burnt down, and his type thus destroyed? This seems not likely to have been the case; as neither the printed sheets of the work, nor the engraved cuts, suffered injury.

Lastly—WAS HE ROBBED OF HIS TYPE? This disaster, indeed, is said to have really happened to him; and if it did not, all I can say is, that I can think of no other way of accounting for the two pages printed with inferior type in the first Dutch edition, and the twenty pages of block-printing in the Second Latin, and that I have never met with any casuist who could.

The curious details of circumstantial evidence which have been laid before the reader in this chapter, are, I think, abundantly sufficient to relieve the respectable Junius from the imputation of having endeavoured to flatter the self-love of the people of Haerlem, by telling them a fine story for which he knew there was no foundation; and—without at present entering upon any defence of the other parts of his narrative—I am of opinion, that the concluding passage, wherein, upon the authority of Nicolas Galius and Quirinus Talesius, he relates the story of the robbery which they had formerly more than once heard from the mouth of Old Cornelius the Bookbinder, who in his youth had lived in the service of the printer who was robbed, merits to be considered as one of the best attested accounts that we possess respecting the early history of typography.

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#### THE SECOND DUTCH EDITION.

The Fourth Edition of the Speculum, like the Second, is in *Dutch*. Of this edition, two copies only are known, both of them in the Hotel de Ville, at Haerlem. The text, which like that of the first Dutch edition is in prose, though with some variations in the orthography, is printed throughout with type similar in shape to that used in the three editions already described, but a little smaller; twenty-five

lines of this type occupying only the same space as twenty-four of the other type. The letter-press has a ruder appearance than that of the previous editions ; partly owing to the type itself, which looks as if it had been less skilfully prepared, or had suffered from previous hard usage more than the other, and partly to the inferior quality of the ink, which seems little better than a mixture of soot and oil, and to a deficiency, whether of skill or care, on the part of the printer, in various other particulars. The inner margin of the pages is a little wider than in the other Dutch edition, and this is the only improvement. The imperfections of this edition, as has been said, caused Meerman, and, since him, De Koning, to consider it as the most ancient. That it is not the first edition, however, but the fourth, is beyond all doubt ; since the cuts in it exhibit all the marks of fracture already noticed in the first Dutch and Second Latin editions, with the addition of some others, as I shall presently shew.

Two ways, only, occur to me, of accounting for the inferiority of the type in this edition. First, that the printer was not so well skilled as his predecessor had been in the art of casting type ; or, secondly, that he did not know how to make it at all ; and was therefore glad to have recourse to some old type, long before used by the original printer, which had been thrown aside—like that employed in the two pages before noticed in the first Dutch edition—as no longer fit for service. It is, perhaps, somewhat in favour of the latter supposition (though I do not mean to insist upon it), that there exists in the collection of Mr. Enschedé, at Haerlem, two leaves of a *Donatus*<sup>57</sup> on parchment, which, after a careful examination, appeared to me, as it did to Mr. Enschedé, to have been printed with this same type when in better condition.

I observed, when at Haerlem, the following fractures in the cuts in this edition, (in addition to those before-mentioned) in parts not so fractured in either of the three other folio editions : however trifling

<sup>57</sup> Meerman has given a fac-simile of one of the four pages of this fragment of *Donatus* in his Tab. IV.



they may appear, they constitute good proof that this edition is the last of the four.

In *Cut 7*, the upright marginal line, on the right near the bottom, has a piece broken out in this *second Dutch* edition, which is not so fractured in the *second Latin*.

In *Cut 13*, the upright marginal line, on the right, has a similar fracture in this edition, and the bottom outline of the scroll, under the word '*gracia*,' is broken away; both which lines are perfect in the *second Latin*.

In *Cut 16*, the two upright lines of the base of the pilaster on the right, which are perfect in the *second Latin* edition, are fractured in this *second Dutch*.

In *Cut 27*, the upright line of the base of the half-pillar, on the right, is perfect in the *second Latin* edition, but broken in this *second Dutch* edition.

*Cut 35.* Here, also, the base of the half-pillar, on the right, exhibits a similar fracture in this *second Dutch* edition.

In *Cut 46*, two or three pieces of the marginal line, on the left, are broken out, in this *second Dutch* edition, which are not so broken in the *second Latin*.

*Cut 54.* At the bottom corner, on the left, a considerable piece of the marginal line is broken away in this *second Dutch* edition, which is not so fractured in the *second Latin*.

The two copies of this edition at Haerlem, are neither of them perfect; the one wanting a sheet of the preface, the other six sheets of the third gathering; two of which, however (*viz.* those with cuts 20 to 23), appear to have been anciently replaced by waste sheets of the first Dutch edition, which, like those of the two copies of that edition formerly described, are marked with the *Unicorn*.

The paper-marks of this fourth edition of the *Speculum*, are in no one instance identically the same as those in either of the three preceding editions; as will be seen from the following table, and a reference to plate 31, to which it refers. I have distinguished the two copies by the initials A. and B.

## THE SECOND DUTCH EDITION.

1st Gathering. *The Preface*—2 sheets.

|        |                   |     |   |   |
|--------|-------------------|-----|---|---|
| Copy A | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | (—) |   |   |
| B      | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | (*) |   |   |
| pag.   | 1                 | 2   | 3 | 4 |
|        | a                 | b—b | a |   |

\* This sheet has an *Anchor*, smaller considerably than that in the Latin editions. As it only occurs once, and as the Anchor is so common a mark, I thought it unnecessary to draw it.

2d Gathering. *Cuts 1 to 14*—7 sheets.

|   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |    |    |     |     |     |     |     |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| A | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>15</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) |    |    |     |     |     |     |     |
| B | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>15</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) |    |    |     |     |     |     |     |
|   | 1.                | 2.                | 3.                | 4.                | 5.                | 6.                | 7.                | 8. | 9. | 10. | 11. | 12. | 13. | 14. |
|   | a                 | b                 | c                 | d                 | e                 | f                 | g—g               | f  | e  | d   | c   | b   | a   |     |

3d Gathering. *Cuts 15 to 28*—7 sheets.

|   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| A | ( <sup>13</sup> ) | ( <sup>13</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| B | ( <sup>13</sup> ) | (—)               | (—)               | (—)               | (—)               | ( <sup>2*</sup> ) | ( <sup>2*</sup> ) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|   | 15.               | 16.               | 17.               | 18.               | 19.               | 20.               | 21.               | 22. | 23. | 24. | 25. | 26. | 27. | 28. |
|   | a                 | b                 | c                 | d                 | e                 | f                 | g—g               | f   | e   | d   | c   | b   | a   |     |

4th Gathering. *Cuts 29 to 42*—7 sheets.

|   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| A | ( <sup>17</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>16</sup> ) | ( <sup>16</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| B | ( <sup>13</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>16</sup> ) | ( <sup>16</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|   | 29.               | 30.               | 31.               | 32.               | 33.               | 34.               | 35.               | 36. | 37. | 38. | 39. | 40. | 41. | 42. |
|   | a                 | b                 | c                 | d                 | e                 | f                 | g—g               | f   | e   | d   | c   | b   | a   |     |

5th Gathering. *Cuts 43 to 58*—8 sheets.

|   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                     |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |     |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----|
| A | ( <sup>13</sup> ) | ( <sup>13</sup> ) | ( <sup>†</sup> )  | ( <sup>15</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>16</sup> ) | ( <sup>13</sup> )   |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |     |
| B | ( <sup>13</sup> ) | ( <sup>13</sup> ) | ( <sup>16</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>14</sup> ) | ( <sup>16</sup> ) | ( <sup>13</sup> )   |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |     |
|   | 43.               | 44.               | 45.               | 46.               | 47.               | 48.               | 49.               | 50.                 | 51.      | 52.      | 53.      | 54.      | 55.      | 56.      | 57.      | 58. |
|   | <i>a</i>          | <i>b</i>          | <i>c</i>          | <i>d</i>          | <i>e</i>          | <i>f</i>          | <i>g</i>          | <i>h</i> — <i>h</i> | <i>g</i> | <i>f</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>d</i> | <i>c</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>a</i> |     |

† This sheet has a *Unicorn*, different from those of the first two editions: as it only occurs this once, I have not drawn it.

Taking the two copies together, *the Bull's-head with a shield bearing the Arms of Bavaria*, (No. <sup>14</sup>) occurs 32 times; *the Hand* (<sup>13</sup>) 10 times; *the Wheel of St. Catherine*, (<sup>16</sup>) 7 times; *the Circle with letters*



and a *Shield with the Arms of Bavaria*,<sup>(15)</sup> 3 times ; and the *Anchor*, the *two Keys*,<sup>(17)</sup> and the *Unicorn*, above mentioned, only once each. I suspect that but few copies were printed of this edition, and that it was commenced with one or more reams of paper bearing the mark<sup>(14)</sup>, which is of most frequent occurrence in it.

Upon turning over and comparing the two copies together, I found that in copy A, the fourth sheet of the 2d gathering is without the cuts (Numbers 4 and 11), the whole of the upper part of the sheet, which ought to have contained them, having been cut off. In copy B, the upper part of the sheet has in like manner been cut away, and the cuts have been rubbed off upon a separate piece of paper, and added by splicing and pasting at the tops of the pages. I conclude that wrong cuts had, by mistake, been originally printed at the tops of these two pages, and that thus the error was rectified.

I have before noticed (p. 265) the curious circumstance of a line being printed upside down, in one of the pages of this edition ; a circumstance which, I think, is only to be accounted for by the supposition, that the printer of the *Speculum* was accustomed to string the characters of the different lines upon threads, in the way spoken of by various old writers on the invention of typography. Also, (p. 255) that upon opening the above two copies in the middle sheet of the same gathering, I found, upon comparing them, the *exact* same breadth and regularity of the inner margin in both, and that the lines of the two pages range with each other *exactly* the same in both copies ; which strict conformity in the two copies, proves, as I said, very satisfactorily, that the two pages of the *Speculum*, occupying the same sheet, were printed by one stroke of the press.

## CHAPTER XII.

THAT THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM, THE BOOK OF CANTICLES, AND THE SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS, ARE OF THE SAME SCHOOL; AND THAT THE CUTS OF THOSE WORKS WERE, IN PART AT LEAST, EXECUTED BY THE SAME WOOD-ENGRAVERS.

I HAVE before observed, that the wood-engravings of the ‘Biblia Pauperum,’ the ‘Book of Canticles,’ and the ‘Speculum Humanæ Salvationis,’ appear to be of the same school; and, indeed, that the hand of the same identical artist is to be clearly traced in some of the cuts of each of those works. Upon this subject, I shall here extract from my former work a few remarks, which I have since found no reason to wish to change, and which were not written by me except after repeated and careful examinations of all the three block-books.

“There is reason to believe that the ‘Biblia Pauperum,’ ‘the Book of Canticles,’ and the cuts of the ‘Speculum Salvationis,’ were engraved in great part by the same wood-engraver, although from the designs of different artists. The remark, however, must be understood with some limitations. There is little doubt that the principal wood-engravers of those times had pupils who assisted them in executing the extensive works confided to their care. That part of a cut which required little skill, or that entire design which least captivated the taste of the master, was often entrusted to the scholar; and hence those occasional dissimilarities of execution which a careful observer will discover in different cuts of the same block-book, (especially in accessorial parts) although their general style be the same, and although they bear every evidence of having proceeded from the workshop of one master-artist. Several of the cuts of the Speculum bear so striking a resemblance to some of those in the ‘Biblia Pauperum,’ as to leave little or no doubt that they were engraved by the same hand; others, in their mode of execution, exactly correspond with some of those in the ‘Book of Canticles.’ Upon the whole, I



am of opinion that the same engraver, who had been employed to execute the blocks of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' was also, but at a later period, entrusted with those of the 'Book of Canticles,' and lastly, or about the same time, with those of the 'Speculum;' which work it is probable he did not live to complete, since the latter cuts of the Speculum (as has been before observed) were evidently engraved by a distinct artist from the one employed in the former part of that work, and from the compositions of a different designer." ('Inquiry into the Origin of Engraving, &c.' p. 155.)

Again, (p. 158) "The back-ground of the left-hand compartment (of the fifth cut of the Speculum) represents a shepherd with some sheep, executed so exactly in the style of those introduced in two or three of the cuts of the 'Book of Canticles,' as to leave little or no doubt that they were engraved by the same hand."

And (p. 162), "The group in the left-hand compartment (cut 21) is composed with great simplicity of style, and furnishes additional evidence in support of the opinion given at page 155, that the same artist who had engraved the 'Biblia Pauperum' and the 'Book of Canticles,' was also employed to execute the work before us: the head of Joseph, and the general character of his figure, in this design of 'the Flight into Egypt,' bear so striking a resemblance to the Joseph in the 'Nativity' in the 'Biblia Pauperum,' (although the attitude is different) as to amount to little short of proof that both were executed by the same wood-engraver."

And (p. 168), "The three naked figures of Christ and the two malefactors (cut 47) are designed with great feeling and spirit:" I may add, with the same intelligence, and in the same style, as the small figure of Christ on the Cross, which has been noticed by me in the 22d design of 'the Book of Canticles.'

And again (p. 230), "I have remarked, in various parts of this chapter, upon the resemblance of style observable in the execution of many of the woodcuts of the three works which have been described—the 'Biblia Pauperum,' the 'Book of Canticles,' and the work still under consideration; a resemblance in many instances so striking, as to leave, in my opinion, no doubt that the same wood-engravers were employed upon all the three. Several of the cuts in the Speculum, as has been said, appear to have been executed by the same hand that executed many of those in the 'Biblia Pauperum;' others bear evident marks of having been engraved by the same workman who cut several of those in the 'Book of Canticles.' Nor is this resemblance as

to the executive part of the work, or what we may term the handling of the graver, less apparent between several of the cuts of the 'Biblia Pauperum' and others in the 'Book of Canticles;' although the artist who made the designs for the former of those works, was evidently a different person from the one employed to design the latter. For example, if the reader have an opportunity of examining the 9th, 11th, 15th 16th, 23d, 24th, 31st, 32d, 37th and 38th cuts of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' (of the edition possessed by Earl Spencer,) and of comparing them with the 1st, 2d, 11th, 14th and 16th pages of the original edition of 'the Book of Canticles,' he will find in the trees, represented in all of them, that peculiarity of touch in the mode of executing the foliage, (well expressed by the vulgar term *knack*) which can alone be accounted for by the supposition that these particular cuts were really engraved, in part at least, by the same hand. If these, again, be compared with the cuts of the Speculum, described under Numbers 12, 17, 28, 29, 30, and 36, the same workmanship will be recognized; insomuch that we may be fairly justified in concluding that the three works in question were executed in the workshop of the same master wood-engraver; with the exception, as has been said, of the latter cuts of the Speculum, which are engraved in a different style from all the rest."

It may be proper that I should here briefly explain in what the above-mentioned peculiarity in the execution of the foliage, in the particular cuts I have referred to, consists. In all the three works, the trees, as has been said, are of a conic form, with pointed tops; and the leafage is most commonly indicated by a few short horizontal touches, ranged over each other with more or less regularity, as in pages 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, of 'the Book of Canticles,' and in cuts No. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 33, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45 and 47, of the Speculum. But, in the pieces above enumerated, a different mode of expressing the leafage has been adopted; curved strokes, and of greater length, having been employed, which, gently falling on the right and left, and intersecting each other diagonally in the middle of the trees, produce a much more agreeable and finished effect, and a far better representation of the object intended.

I shall speak at length, concerning the *costume* of the figures in the



Speculum, in the next chapter but one ; when I shall point out certain resemblances, in this respect also, in the three works in question. I may here add, that the cuts of all the three agree, likewise, in exhibiting certain peculiarities in the forms of the characters in the inscriptions upon them ; as the fine perpendicular stroke, before noticed, added to the cross stroke of the final *t* ; the character used to express the syllable *con* at the beginning of words, &c. ; to which I may add that the ‘Biblia Pauperum,’ like the Speculum, furnishes various instances of the improper use of the *w* for *vu*. (See p. 262, and Plate 34, Nos. VII. to XV.) All these circumstances, combined, seem to connect the above works so closely together, as to leave, I think, no doubt that they were executed in the same place, and by artists of the same school.

## CHAPTER XIII.

THAT THE FOUR ANCIENT EDITIONS OF THE SPECULUM WERE  
PRINTED IN HOLLAND. THE TWO VERNACULAR EDITIONS ARE  
IN THE DUTCH DIALECT.

THE type of the Speculum has been so universally recognized as Dutch type, by all bibliographers whom I have had an opportunity of consulting on the matter; and it seems now so generally admitted by the best informed writers of the continent, even those the most adverse to the pretensions of Haerlem, that it is unnecessary for me to insist any further on this head. The type being absolutely the same in the first three editions, and of the same shape, though a little smaller, in the fourth; and the cuts being the same in all; it follows that they all issued from the same press.

But the language of the two vernacular editions, has by some writers been termed Flemish, instead of Dutch; perhaps with a view to leave a doubt upon the mind of the reader whether the work was really printed in Holland, or in the southern provinces of Belgium.

In my former work, I stated, upon the authority of a gentleman who had long resided at Utrecht, (and of whose name I regret not to have taken a note at the time)—

“ That the language of these two editions is such as was commonly spoken in the fifteenth century in Holland; but was never generally used in the southern provinces of the Netherlands, where the Flemish language formerly prevailed, as it does at present.”

But, during my residence of some months in Holland, six years ago, I did not find that the learned of that country were prepared to support, to its full extent, the assertion of my former informant. For



though, in the different provinces of Holland and Flanders, various dialects are believed to have prevailed in the fifteenth century, as they do now; those provincialisms, used in speaking, are seldom to be found in the writers of those times, who wrote, it seems, the same language;—what a Hollander would now call pure Dutch, or a Belgian, pure Flemish.

It may, however, be readily conceived, that a vulgar writer would be likely occasionally to fall into provincialisms; and that an ignorant copyist, or an ill-educated compositor, would sometimes betray the part of the country he came from, or resided in: and I take it for granted that such marks are found in the two ancient editions of the Dutch Speculum; as otherwise, I think, the writer of the following letter, a gentleman of considerable literary attainments, would not have so strongly expressed his conviction, as he has done in the latter part of it, that the dialect of the Speculum is absolutely that of Holland. For I am bound to say, that neither in this gentleman, (from whom I experienced great kindness and hospitality during my stay at the Hague, and whose death, since, I sincerely deplore) nor in any other Dutchman whom I have chanced occasionally to converse with, have I found any thing like a settled prejudice in favour of the claims of Haerlem to the invention of printing; but, on the contrary, an honest wish for the discovery of facts bearing upon the question, whatever should be their tendency; accompanied, in most cases, I should say, with certain misgivings as to the ultimate result of full inquiry into the subject, rather than otherwise.

“ DEAR SIR,

*The Hague, Jan. 9, 1830.*

“ You ask me if I think the text of the two vernacular editions of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*, or *Spiegel onzer Behoudenis*, is in the Flemish dialect, or in the dialect of Holland. I feel no difficulty in declaring to you, that, after a scrupulous examination of it, it appears to me there can be no doubt that the text is in pure Dutch. My opinion is not founded on the orthography, which, in the fifteenth century, was neither regulated nor fixed, either in Holland or in Belgium: It varied under the pen of the same author or copyist, and of this we find a multitude of examples in the Speculum itself. Thus we read in the first page, *gelike, geliken, gelik*, and in the last page,

*gelyk*. The same word is therefore written in three different ways, viz. with an *i*, with two *ii*, and with a *y*. (See *Koning's 'Bylage,'* A and B.) One might cite a great number of instances of this sort, which are to be found in the said book, and in other works of the same time. It may suffice to say that, in general, the writers of the XVth century observed in this respect no rule; each person writing as best pleased him. It is therefore not surprising that we find great differences of this kind, in the three ancient editions of the Dutch *Speculum*." (The writer here appears to include Veldener's Edition.) "To be convinced of this, one has but to cast one's eyes on the last page of this book, which Mr. Koning has caused to be printed in common type in his Dutch work. (Supplement, pag. 69.) In order to judge of the language of the *Spiegel onzer Behoudenis*, it is necessary to examine the dialects in which the book is composed; and no doubt can then remain that the dialect is that of the language which was spoken in the XVth century in the provinces of Holland and of Utrecht. It is impossible to mistake it; and every man who has a competent knowledge of the Dutch and Flemish languages, will subscribe to this opinion, which, indeed, is generally received in the Low Countries.

"I am, dear Sir, &c.

(signed) "G. VAN LENNEP."

Whilst prosecuting my inquiries at the Hague, I had also the pleasure to be made known to Mr. Ewyck, Minister of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands in the department of Fine Arts and Sciences; for in Holland the advancement of such studies is thought of sufficient importance to justify the appointment of an officer of rank, whose employment it is to watch over and promote their welfare. Some months after my return to England, Mr. Ewyck, to whom I had expressed my wish to get the fullest information possible upon the point now under consideration, had the kindness to transmit to me a dissertation, which at his request had been prepared with great care by Mr. Willems, a literary gentleman of Antwerp, who has particularly devoted himself to the study of the different ancient dialects of the Low Countries.

From the length of Mr. Willem's dissertation, the minute details it enters into, and its frequent references to authorities, I have judged it best to print it in the Appendix; where it will, I am sure, be read



with great interest, by all those persons, whether inhabitants of Holland or Belgium, who desire sound information upon the ancient history and varieties of their language ; and I beg to take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks to the learned author for the communication. I shall here only cite a short passage relative to the use of a particular word in the Dutch Speculum, which seems to shew very clearly that the work must have been printed on the north of the Moerdyk.

“ We have seen,” says Mr. Willems, “ that in the provinces near the Rhyne, the word *Solden* was anciently used, where we use *Zouden*, derived from *Zullen*. This auxiliary of the verbs, so frequently used in speaking, is, perhaps of all others, the word which has received the greatest variety of inflexions. We find it written *Sullen*, according to the general custom ; sometimes *Selen*, *Sellen*, *Solen*, *Soelen* or *Suelen*. In Brabant, the *u* in *Zullen* is commonly pronounced as in the French word *nul*, except at Lovaine, where they say *Zillen*. In Flanders it sounds almost the same as in *Zeulen* ; whilst the people of Holland and the province of Utrecht, using an accent midway between the two pronunciations, give to the *u* a sound approaching that of *è*, so that most frequently they say *Zellen*. Now, according to the testimony of Mr. Koning, and judging from the fac-similes published, the text of the *Spiegel* has ordinarily *Sellen*, which is *an evident proof of its northern origin, as in the southern provinces no example of the word so spelt is to be found.*”

This orthography, however, the writer informs us, is of very rare occurrence in authentic documents of Holland and Zeland, of the fifteenth century ; but in the annals of Utrecht of that century, which are very numerous, the words *Sellen*, *Sel*, &c. are of almost constant occurrence. He adds that the orthography of the *Spieghel* is very like that of a book, entitled *Boeck des gulden throens*, which was printed at Utrecht in 1480.

Mr. Willems sums up, by declaring his decided opinion :

- “ 1. That the *Spieghel onser Behoudenis*, is not a production of the southern provinces of the Low Countries, where they never wrote *Sellen*.
2. That it is written in a dialect of the northern provinces of the kingdom.
3. That the person who wrote, or corrected the orthography of this book, was

probably, a native of the province of Utrecht, as he followed the particular usage proper to that province."

As, in the above remarks, the writer refers to the Dutch edition of the *Speculum* which Mr. Koning considered the first, but which we have shewn not to be so, it may be proper for me to observe, that I found the word *Sellen* three times, in the first page of the preface of Earl Spencer's copy of the real first Dutch edition, and once in the second page ; and that I have no reason to doubt its frequent occurrence in other parts of the volume.

That the four ancient editions of the *Speculum* were printed in Holland, is, therefore, proved by the character of the type, which is now generally acknowledged to be Dutch, and by the language in the two vernacular editions, which is in the Dutch dialect. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it seems to follow, almost inevitably, that the cuts were drawn and engraved in that country. But should any one still think further evidence upon this point desirable, let him turn to our 18th Plate, in which are copied, ' the Ark of Noah,' from Cut 4, ' Jonas cast by his Companions out of the Ship into the Sea,' from Cut 52, and ' the Two Fishermen,' from Cut 9, with their high boots, such as are used for wading in the sea, and their shrimp-net. In addition to these, various peculiarities in the armour and other dresses of the figures in the *Speculum*, will presently be noticed, which appear to shew that the work must have been executed in Holland. The vessels, as I am told, are such as were never used any where else : a few years ago, I shewed the ' Noah's Ark' to an old naval officer of my acquaintance, and asked him what it was ? " A Dutch boat," he replied, " you may see such, now, at the Tower Stairs !"





## CHAPTER XIV.

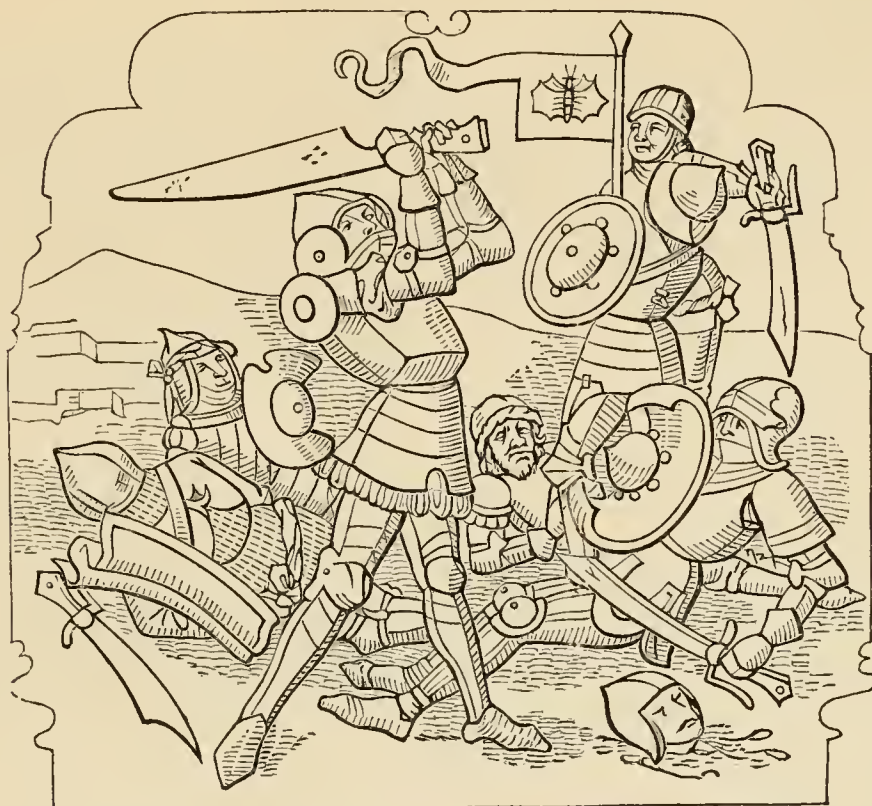
ON THE COSTUME OF THE SPECULUM. OF THE PROBABLE AGE OF THE CUTS. DR. MEYRICK'S OPINION ON THIS HEAD, FOUNDED ON THE STYLE OF THE ARMOUR.

IN speaking of the old Block-books in my former work, (p. 109) I chanced to insert the following note :

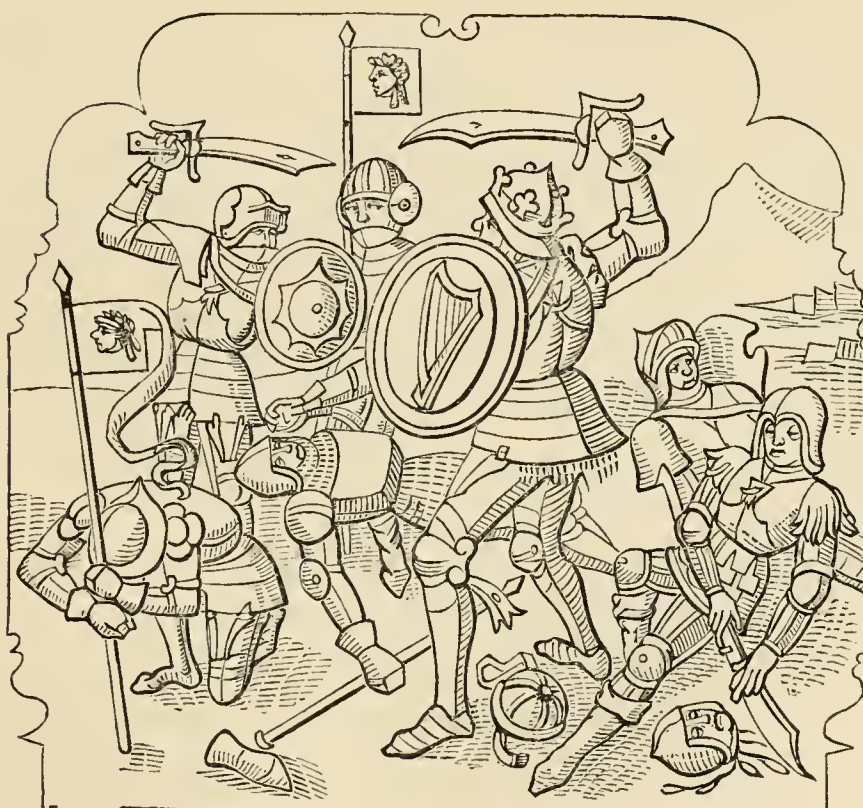
“ An inquiry into the age and school to which these different block-books appertain, if undertaken by a person thoroughly versed in all those minute distinctions, by which the dates and country of ancient manuscripts are ascertained, and well stored with antiquarian knowledge, (particularly in the epochs of the various changes which took place in the dresses of the different classes of the people of Germany and the Netherlands, and the alterations which were made in the *construction of armour*, from the thirteenth to the close of the fifteenth century,) would be an interesting work; and might probably throw much light on this obscure subject. The task, however, would not be an easy one; more especially as the books themselves, to which a frequent reference would of course be necessary, are of extreme rarity.”

In the year 1814, when I wrote this, I could hear of no one capable of affording me information upon this head: but a few years ago I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Dr., now Sir Samuel Meyrick, who, besides being the possessor of a very curious and extensive collection of armour, had sometime previously published a large work on the subject. One morning, that he favoured me with a visit, I consulted him upon the probable age of the armour of the Speculum, having a few of the cuts by me; and in order that he might have the more leisure to examine and consider the varieties they offer, he was induced to take home with him the leaf having the 34th Cut, containing, as will be seen from the copies here given,

numerous armed figures ; promising after he had sufficiently looked at them, to inform me of his opinion.



*Ganger occidit sexcentos viros cum vomere.*



*David occidit octingentos viros impetu suo.*



In the course of a few days, I received from Dr. Meyrick the following note :

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Whenever you have half an hour to spare, I am quite ready to shew you what I regard as proofs that your wood-blocks were cut in the early part of the reign of Henry the Sixth ; I should say somewhere between the years 1430 and 1435. Any time, therefore, next week, you are pleased to appoint, between Eleven and Five o’Clock, I will be sure to be at home,

“ Yours, &c.

“ 20, Cadogan Place,

(signed)

SAM. R. MEYRICK,”

“ 1st Nov. 1828.

I was not tardy in availing myself of Dr. Meyrick’s invitation. During a stay of some hours at his house, he shewed me numerous authorities upon which he had founded his opinion ; and he was afterwards so kind as to favour me with the following erudite and detailed communication on the subject.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ You desire my opinion on the date of the armour exhibited in those impressions from wood-blocks in the Speculum, under which are written ‘ Sanger occidit sexcentos viros cum vomere,’ and ‘ David occidit octingentos viros impetu suo :’ but to render it of more value, I wish to subjoin the authorities on which it is founded. I should say, at first glance, that it is of *the time of Henry VI.* who reigned from the year 1422 to 1461 ; and more minute attention induces me to attribute it to *the early part of that period.*

“ Next to actual dates, there is no criterion of age so sure as *Costume*, which, changing on an average within every ten years, fixes the real period almost precisely ; especially, as, all its parts not varying at the same moment, the one rectifies the vagueness of the other. After costume, ornament is a fair guide ; as is architecture ; and next to these the style of writing, where the subject is a manuscript.

“ You are, no doubt, well aware that *the designers of the middle ages*, until the latter part of the seventeenth century, *always dressed their figures from the objects before their eyes* ; and those writers who would fabricate descriptions of what they wished should be supposed to have occurred before their times, always used the terms of costume applicable to their own period. This is proved, by comparing illuminations without dates with such as have them, or

with effigies on seals and monuments. Any copy of a manuscript romance, or chronicle, is thus ascertained to be of the time of the writer, or subsequent. For instance, in Caxton's 'Game of Chess,' we have the description of the knight and his horse, as they would have been armed in the reign of Edward III., because Caxton translated literally from the language of that day; while the cut which accompanies it exhibits them as they would be in the time of Edward IV., above a century later. The outline illustrations of Mr. Uttersen's 'Arthur king of little Britayne,' are often at variance with the text; which arises from the book being printed from a copy illuminated at the close of the reign of Henry VI.; while the manuscript was fairly transcribed from one of much earlier date. There is every reason to conclude that this romance was composed in the time of Edward I. Walsingham, a cotemporary, mentions an intention of some nobles to give a tournament at Windsor, immediately after the accession of Henry IV., in order to allow them an opportunity of destroying him. This simple statement is excessively amplified by the chronicler Hall, in the reign of Henry VIII., who has allowed his fancy to attempt imposing on his readers by minutely describing the armour worn on that occasion. He is, however, detected by the mere fact of the terms not applying to the military costume of that time, but exactly designating his own. I could multiply these instances 'ad infinitum,' but I take it for granted that I have stated sufficient.

"In the following observations, I shall refer you only to those proofs that are actually dated, either by figures, or some distinctive mark. The head-coverings of the combatants are the *scull-cap* or *cervelliere*, used as early as the reign of Edward I.; the *bascinet*, introduced in that of Edward II.; the *Montauban hat*, the *salade with visor*, and the *open salade*; all three worn from the commencement of the fifteenth century. Attached to the *bascinet*, is the *camail*, or gorget of mail; distinguished from the tippet, used as late as the reign of Henry VIII., by coming over the chin, and which does not occur after the early part of the reign of Henry VI. That the *visor'd salade* and *mentoniere*, a kind of gorget of plate, were known as early as the reign of Henry IV. is shewn by the effigy of one of the Neville family in Brancepeth Church, Durham; the rest of whose costume is certainly not later than that period, strongly resembling the fashion of Edward the Third's time. See an accurate representation of it in Stothard's 'Monumental Effigies.'

"On comparing these with what appears in the wood-cuts to the Speculum, the identity will be evident. It is true that their use continued till the close



of the fifteenth century; but this authority shews that they were also known at its commencement. The open *salade* is precisely like those sculptured on an ivory cross-bow in the collection of arms and armour at my house, and in an alabaster carving of the Resurrection; both of which are as old as the year 1430. In two instances the *bascinet* and *cervelliere* are worn with *large circular oreillettes*,<sup>58</sup> a fashion of the same time.

“ The body-armour consists either of the *hauberk* with plates upon it, or of what was emphatically termed *a pair of plates*; that is the breast and back were each formed of two pieces. As the *hauberk*, or chain-shirt, is of ancient date, I shall not trouble you with any remarks upon it; but direct your attention to the other.

“ *In the middle of the reign of Henry VI. the plates were encreased in number to three or four for the breast, and as many for the back*; though this was not invariably the case. What, however, decidedly fixes the representation in the Speculum, to the early part of that reign is, that the lower plate is fastened to the upper one by a strap and buckle, in front and rear; a practice succeeded by a moveable rivet before the year 1440, as is shewn by many illuminations, and by an actual suit at my house. (See Plate 22, No. 5.) The authority, however, on which I rely, is the monumental effigy of *Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick*, in the chapel attached to the principal church in that town. (See Plate 21, No. 1.) He died in 1439. I admit that the covenant for making this, entered into with William Austen, citizen and founder of London, bears date 1450: but the executors, in giving the order, were acting in conformity with the Earl's will which was executed in 1435, and where he had especially directed ‘four images of gold each weighing 20 lbs., to be made after his similitude, in his armour, holding an anchor in his hands, to be made and offered for him at St. Alban's, Canterbury, Bridlington, and Shrewsbury.’ (See the Will, printed at the end of Hearne's Life of Richard II.) Now, it is to be observed, that the marbler, who undertook to make the altar-tomb on which the effigy is placed, is directed to work according to a *pourtraicture*, or design, submitted for this purpose; whereas, except for the accompaniments, as a

<sup>58</sup> An instance of the large circular *Oreillettes*, from a Dutch MS. of about the year 1390, will be found in Plate 23; and another, from a Dutch MS. dated 1435, in Plate 27. Circular *Oreillettes*, but of smaller dimensions, will be found in Plates 28 and 29. They occasionally occur, also, in somewhat later times: an instance of large circular *Oreillettes*, in a MS. done for Edward IV. is given in Plate 30. It will be seen in Plate 19, that the ‘*Biblia Pauperum*’ also has them.

bear muzzled, and a griffon, &c. which were to be according to patterns, no drawing is alluded to in the agreement 'to cast and make an image of a man armed of fine latten;' while like the figures in gold, it has the similitude of the Earl, and is in the same position; having originally held between its hands an anchor. There can be no doubt that this effigy, composed as it is of several pieces of latten, as the metal was called, was formed from an actual suit of armour, all the straps being in metal; as it is equally as much worked in detail in those parts which do not meet the sight, as where it is more exposed. In proof of this, I beg leave to refer you to the three accurate plates in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*; for, as he told me, he actually locked himself within the chapel, and then finding that the figure would separate in the middle, he, by main force, turned it on its front, which produced the discovery just mentioned. This, being quite unusual in all sepulchral effigies of alabaster or stone, proves beyond a doubt, that it must have been cast from some actual suit of armour; and after the particular directions in the will, what so likely as that the executors should have delivered to the founder the suit which the Earl had worn. He died in France; and there can be no doubt but that the armour as well as other effects, were brought to England with his body: for so expensive was this military attire, as constantly to form an object of bequest in the wills of our nobility at this period. Now, this being the last suit he had had made, we may fairly on many grounds regard it as being quite as old as the date of the will. By examining it, however, in detail, we shall find that there are authorities for its several parts for some years earlier than that. As I shall hereafter call your attention to *the representation of Henry V. in the Bedford Missale*. (Plate 25, No. 2.) I shall here briefly notice that the *breastplate with its strap*, appears precisely the same in that.

Appended to the lowermost *lame* of the *taces* which cover the abdomen, are attached those additional protections for the thighs, called *tuilles*, from their-over lapping resemblance to tiles. These were known as early as the year 1430, for you will find them on *the monumental brass of Sir Bryan Stapleton*, in Ingham Church, Norfolk. (Plate 21, No. 3.) who died in 1432, (see Cotman's *Brasses of Norfolk*) and whose armour in other respects is exactly like that which marks the period of Henry V. I will here mention that it has been suggested by an anonymous writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1818, p. 299, (I believe the Rev. Mr. Dallaway) that all the Norfolk brasses were imported from Ghent, being the fabrication of Flanders. *Lord Bardolf*, in 1435, is also represented with *tuilles*. (See Plate 20, No. 3.)



“ *Little circular plates* appear in the Speculum, as protecting the arm-pits. These were introduced as early as the reign of Henry IV., and called *palettes*. *They do not appear to have been continued after the middle of that of Henry VI.* They must not be confounded with the roundels of Henry the Eighth’s reign.

“ The next circumstance to be noticed, is the form of the feet, where *though the toes are pointed, they are not carried to that extravagant length which they assumed in the middle of the reign of Henry VI.* but precisely resemble those of the monumental effigy of John Fitzalan Earl of Arundel, who died in the year 1434, and which you will find in Stothard’s collection. Now, if you will take the trouble to look at *two manuscript Chronicles of England*, in French, among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, marked *XIV. E. 4*, and *XV. E. 4* (see Plate 30.) the former of the commencement of the reign of Edward IV. as shewn by his badge, the white rose en soleil, which ornaments the margin ; and the latter of the middle of the preceding one, and illuminated in Flanders, as the Burgundian badge of the flint and steel on the dresses evinces ; as well as at the figure of the king, on an illuminated despatch of Edward IV. in the public library at Ghent, and engraved in the 21st vol. of the Archæologia, Plate 3, you will perceive *the revival of that fashion of an extravagant length of toe, which had been adopted, and soon after exploded, at the close of Richard the Second’s reign.* See also the wood-cut of the Knight, in Caxton’s Game of Chess, printed in 1474, before referred to, and engraved in Dibdin’s Typographical Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 42. This absurdity was at the conclusion of Edward the Fourth’s reign succeeded by a perfectly round toe.

“ I have left unnoticed till the last, *the armour of Sanger*, because it so closely resembles that of *Henry V. as depicted in the Bedford Missale* : the only difference is, that in the illumination the lower part of the breast-plate comes up to a point, like those worn by the other combatants in the Speculum ; while that of Sanger terminates in a horizontal line, like one on the ivory cross-bow at my house, to which I have before alluded. You can compare them by referring to Gough’s Sepulchral Effigies, Vol. II. p. 113. Now this beautifully illuminated manuscript is said to have been painted in Flanders, and bears an attestation by the physician to the household, that it was presented by the Dutchess of Bedford to Henry VI. in the year 1430.

“ I take no notice of the shields and weapons ; as they were all used from the commencement till the latter part of the reign of Henry VI. On a careful review and consideration of the whole, I am inclined to think that the

wood-blocks of the Speculum cannot be of later date than 1435, and that they may be a little earlier; nor is this opinion in the least degree shaken on an examination of the rest, besides that of which you more particularly asked it.

“ If you deem these observations of any weight as corroborative testimony in the curious investigation on which you are engaged, I shall consider myself honoured, &c. &c.

“ 20, Cadogan Place,

(signed)

SAM. R. MEYRICK.”

“ 15th Nov. 1828.

If Dr. Meyrick's opinion of the age of these cuts be well founded; and if it be also admitted as proved, as I think it has been, that they were done in Holland, with the intention, from the first, of printing the text underneath them with moveable type; (see pp. 244-251) then will it inevitably follow, that typography was invented in Holland, and there will be an end to the controversy; as Mentz pretends not to have printed nearly so early.

But the great importance of the conclusion, renders it doubly incumbent upon us to examine with diligent attention into the nature and sufficiency of the proofs upon which Dr. Meyrick supports his argument: and I shall therefore offer a few brief remarks upon such passages in his dissertation as seem to me to require it; among which are two or three, in which he appears inadvertently to have fallen into error. At the same time, I would by no means question the general competency of Dr. Meyrick to decide upon a matter of this kind with great approximation to accuracy; and should rather say, that, from his long study of the history of ancient armour, it seems not likely that he should have been very much mistaken in his judgment concerning the age of the cuts of the Speculum.

The remarks of Dr. Meyrick, although they refer more particularly to the vignette containing the two stories of David and Sanger, are of course more or less applicable to the other armed figures in the Speculum, the whole of which work he indeed turned over; and I have therefore caused all these also to be engraved; besides which I have given such a number of specimens of the other dresses of the figures, old and young, male and female, &c. as I thought sufficient to convey



to the curious reader a complete idea of the *costume* of the volume in every respect ; such as may enable him to prosecute further inquiries for himself at any future time, upon any point which may seem to him to require further elucidation.

With this view, I have also given specimens of the armour in the Block-books of the ‘Apocalypse,’ the ‘Biblia Pauperum,’ and the ‘Book of Canticles,’ the two last of which works I have before shewn to be of the same school as the ‘Speculum,’ and in part, at least, executed by the same artists. And, lastly, as the proof of the age of the cuts in the Speculum must chiefly be drawn from a comparison of the costume with that of authentic monuments with known, or tolerably well ascertained, dates, I have given engravings of the chief examples, whether sepulchral effigies or illuminations in manuscripts, which Dr. Meyrick has referred to, as authorities, in the course of his dissertation ; and have added others of the same kinds, which I chanced to discover in the course of my inquiries, and which appeared to me to be further illustrative of the matter in question.

I believe all will agree with Dr. Meyrick, that the artists of the times we are speaking of, and of earlier as well as much later periods, were universally accustomed to dress their figures according to the fashion of their own day, whatever the age of the subject they had to represent ; and that, therefore, *costume* (and I might add, the style of art) affords, next to actual dates, the surest means of determining the age of an illuminated manuscript or other monument.

But, I suspect, if Dr. Meyrick means to speak generally, that he goes too far, when he says that, by such means, the true date of a work of art is to be ascertained to within the short period of five or ten years.

In the early times we are speaking of, the main articles of dress continued so nearly the same for great part of a century, that the same suit of armour, and the same gown, descended from father to son, and from mother to daughter, and when altered, perhaps, in certain small details, rendering them so far conformable to the particular fashion of the day, served even for a third generation. These *small details*, I admit, may in many cases greatly help us ; and will some-

times point to a period of very short duration. But I suspect, that the *exact* date when one fashion had its commencement, and another went out, is known but in very few instances; and it can scarce be doubted that in one country—nay in one part of the same country—certain fashions continued to prevail for sometime after they had been discontinued in another.

In addition to this, it seems probable, from the great costliness of armour, that when a suit, or part of a suit, had become too much out of fashion to be any longer worn by a man of rank, it would, instead of being thrown aside as useless lumber, be often handed over to one of his dependents: and in consequence, in designs and illuminations done in these times, it might happen that subordinate figures would here and there appear, dressed in costume of a more ancient character than the principal personages.

Again, I think, that an artist advanced in years, when illuminating a manuscript, or making designs to engrave from, would often be likely, from habit, to represent his figures in costume more or less resembling that which had prevailed in his younger days, when he made his studies; and, hence, although he would scarcely fail to introduce also certain new changes of fashion, too remarkable to be overlooked, his work, on the whole, would savour more of the costume of former days, than would be the case with the performance of a younger artist, executed at the same time. And this consideration, among others, may in some degree account for the varieties of costume, which we sometimes find in different illuminations, executed by two or more distinct artists, in the same manuscript; of which I could mention numerous instances in manuscripts at the British Museum.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> For example—In a MS. of Quintus Curtius, in French, of about 1468, (Burney, Col. No. 169) the illuminations are of two distinct kinds and sizes, and evidently by two different hands. The smaller illuminations (which occupy only the breadth of one of the two columns of text in which the book is written) are masterly performances in *chiaro-scuro*, with here and there a little touch of colour. The larger (which fill the entire breadth of the page) are by an illuminist of a very inferior class, and entirely



But, although I very much doubt if the date of an illuminated manuscript can commonly be determined so nearly as Dr. Meyrick has supposed, by means of the costume of the figures; still I am of opinion that, if the figures be numerous, and the details of the costume distinctly expressed, a person conversant in the subject will in most cases be able to find some *peculiarity*, here and there in the dresses, pointing to a particular period of no very long duration; and which, joined to the general character of the costume, and the total absence of any fashion known to have been introduced later than the said period, may fairly justify him in ascribing the work to the beginning, the middle, or the latter part, of such or such a century, and sometimes enable him to determine its date still more accurately.

In the cuts of the Speculum, the armour and other costume, in all their varieties, are drawn with the greatest intelligence and distinctness possible. There can be no doubt that the artist who drew them had long been accustomed to see the people around him so dressed; that the details were all familiar to him; and as the figures are numerous, we may safely conclude that the work presents a just idea of the costume of Holland at the time when it was executed: for that it was really done there, has, I think, been fully proved; and, indeed, is further shewn by illuminated manuscripts executed in early times in Holland (See Plates, 23, 24, 25 No. 1, and 27 No. 1); wherein some of the most marked features in costume, that distinguish the

executed in colours. In the illuminations of the former artist, whom I conclude to have been an older person than the other, we have, here and there, reminiscences of the costume of an earlier part of the century; as on the verso of fol. 17, where some of the armed figures seem, at first sight, to have the *bascinet and camail*; though upon a closer inspection it is perceived that the chain-mail does not cover the chin. Still, in the illuminations of this artist, enough is to be found to mark, to a certain degree, the period at which they were done; as the *long pointed toes* of several of the figures, and the *high tower head-dresses*, inclining backwards, of some of the female figures, with the *small loop* (apparently of black ribbon) over the top of the forehead, so common in the time of Edward IV., and which may, perhaps, have been first introduced in the latter part of the reign of Henry VI. The illuminations of the other artist, on the contrary, have nothing in the costume pointing to an earlier period than that at which they were executed.

cuts of the Speculum, are of frequent occurrence ; as the large round bossed shield, the square projecting breast-plate, the large circular *oreillettes*, and the turban worn by the female figures.

But our means of forming a correct judgment of the *date* of these cuts, are not in all respects so complete, as are those, which enable us to determine the *country*. Illuminated manuscripts executed in Holland, are of comparatively rare occurrence ; and Holland has no monumental effigies of these times, to which we may refer as authorities ; every thing of the kind in that country, with scarce an exception, having been destroyed during its revolutions in the sixteenth century. In default of these, Dr. Meyrick has had recourse for illustration to the sepulchral monuments of our own island, or to illuminated manuscripts executed in France or Belgium : and indeed, it may reasonably be supposed, that, upon any notable improvements having been made in the details of defensive armour, in the times we are speaking of, in France, England, or Flanders, the same would be adopted by the Hollanders ; although in their general costume, and even in the general character of their military attire, they still preserved their national peculiarities. Still, did Holland herself furnish us with more numerous authorities, we should, I think, be enabled to determine the date of the work in question, with fuller confidence, than we can do under the existing circumstances.

But to proceed. After enumerating the head-coverings of the combatants, in the stories of Sanger and David, Dr. Meyrick writes thus :

“ That the *visor'd salade and mentoniere*, were known as early as the reign of Henry IV., is shewn by the effigy of one of the Neville family in Brancepeth Church, Durham,” &c.

Here Dr. Meyrick has fallen into error. When he wrote thus, only one engraving of this monument, shewing the armed figure in a side view, had been published. But the relatives of Mr. Stothard, have since caused another plate of it to be engraved, exhibiting the warrior in a front view, with his lady by his side. The monument, as



we are assured by Mr. Kempe, is that of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and his lady. This nobleman had two wives: the first was Elizabeth, daughter of the celebrated Henry Lord Percy surnamed Hotspur, and widow of Lord Clifford, and the second, whose effigy is probably that on the monument, was Margaret, daughter of Sir Reginald Cobham, knight. He died in 1484, the second year of Richard III.; and, in proof that the monument was not made before this reign, instead of wearing *the S.S. collar*, which was a badge of the house of Lancaster, his collar is formed of the *white rose within the sun*, the well-known badge of Edward IV., and from it is suspended *the white boar*, which was the device of Richard III. The lady's head-dress, also, accords perfectly with this date; being the tower head-dress, not very high, with a short mantle over the fore part of the head, which, if the effigies were originally coloured, was probably black; at least so we often find it in illuminations of this time.

It is therefore evident that this monument cannot be produced in proof of the use of the *visor'd salade* and *mentoniere*, even in the time of Henry VI. much less in that of Henry IV., and that we must look elsewhere for authorities respecting it. As for the rest of the armour of the figure, I quite agree with Dr. Meyrick, as to its early character. It corresponds perfectly with what we commonly find in monuments of the time of Henry V. and the beginning of that of Henry VI. and is very unlike what we commonly see afterwards; and I feel little doubt that, with the exception of the helmet, the Earl is here represented in a suit which had either been made for him in his youth, or, what is still more probable, had belonged to his father.

I may add, respecting *the visor'd salade* and *the mentoniere*, which were two separate pieces of armour, the one occasionally worn without the other, that I see no reason to doubt that they may have been used as early as Dr. Meyrick has placed the cuts of the Speculum; and that, at all events, they are of common occurrence in MSS. of from ten to twenty years later date; (see Plates 27, 28, 29.) so that, on the whole, Dr. Meyrick's argument concerning the date of the

Speculum, does not appear to me to be seriously affected by his erroneous opinion of the age of the above monument.

Speaking, next, of the body-armour, Dr. Meyrick has this important passage :

*“ In the middle of the reign of Henry VI. the plates (of the cuirass) were encreased in number to three or four for the breast, and as many for the back ; though this was not invariably the case. What, however, decidedly fixes the representation in the Speculum, to the early part of that reign is, that the lower plate is fastened to the upper one by a strap and buckle, in front and rear ; a practise succeeded by a moveable rivet before the year 1440, as is shown by many illuminations, and by an actual suit at my house.”*

The terms in which Dr. Meyrick expresses himself, in the first clause of this passage, seem to imply, that, in the middle of the above monarch's reign, say about 1440 or 41, a change took place in the construction of the cuirass, which from that time was *generally* made with *three or four pieces for the breast-plate*, and *as many for the back-covering*, instead of *two* ;—though the breast-plate made of two pieces still continued to be *sometimes* used ;—in short that from that date, or thereabouts, the new mode of construction became *the rule*, and the old one *the exception*.

If this could be proved to be the case, it would, independently of all other evidence, furnish a very convincing argument in favour of the antiquity of the cuts of the Speculum ; as, in the numerous armed figures in that work, the breast-plate is never represented of more than two pieces. But, Dr. Meyrick has not produced any proof that the suit of armour at his house is of the middle of Henry VIth's reign ; and hitherto, I have been unable to find any certain example of the cuirass with three or four plates for the breast, and as many for the back, so early as he has stated. In a very splendid manuscript in the Royal Collection at the British Museum, which has numerous illuminations with armed figures, and which was prepared as a present to the Queen of Henry VI. upon her marriage in 1443, I have been unable to discover a single instance of the breast-plate, or back-pieces of the armour, so formed. Specimens of the armour in this



manuscript, are given in Plate 28. In an illuminated manuscript in the collection of Mr. Douce, which may possibly be as early as 1445, (for I am not sure, and may have placed it a few years too early) the breast-plate, in many instances, appears to be of three pieces (see Plate 29 No. 1.); and in another very fine one, belonging to the same gentleman, executed, as I suppose at Bruges, for Philip le Bon, from 1450 to 1452, are instances of figures which also seem to have the breast-plate of three pieces, and the back covered with a greater number; (Plate 29 No. 2.); though, as the figures in the original miniatures are very small, the details of the armour are not always so distinctly expressed in them as might be wished; and, admitting these to be genuine representations of this new kind of cuirass, which I think they are, still the breast-plate of two pieces is of more frequent occurrence in this manuscript.

Unfortunately, there seems to be a great paucity of illuminated manuscripts of from An. 1443, to the end of the reign of Henry VI.; (perhaps in consequence of the desolating wars of that period) so much so, that I have not hitherto found even one, bearing a date, or to which I could with any certainty ascribe a date, from the above-mentioned year till the beginning of the reign of Edward IV. in the large collections at the British Museum: for I must here observe, that the MS. XV. E. 4, ascribed by Dr. Meyrick to the latter part of Henry VIth's. reign, was undoubtedly written for the prince by whom he was succeeded. This manuscript, indeed, is the *first* of a set of seven large volumes of the Chronicles of England, in the French language, done (I believe, in Flanders) expressly for Edward IV., and has a laudatory preface addressed to him. The MS. XIV. E. 4, is the third volume of the same work: the other volumes are lost.

I have little doubt, however, that, in the latter part of Henry VIth's reign, the breast and back-plates were often constructed, each of three or more pieces; and that, in the beginning of that of his successor, they were as frequently made so as not, is sufficiently proved by the above two MSS. XIV. E. 4. and XV. E. 4. and by others of the same time. See Plate 30.) After all, I do not pretend to deter-

mine when the breast-plate of three, or four pieces, was first introduced ; but I feel bound to say, that I see no reason to believe that it came into any thing like general use so early as Dr. Meyrick has supposed ; much less that the old breast-plate, of two pieces, was at that time in great measure superseded by it.

The concluding part of the above passage relates to *the strap and buckle*, with which, in some of the figures of the Speculum, the lower breast-plate is attached to the upper ; a practice which, Dr. Meyrick informs us, was *succeeded by a moveable rivet* before the year 1440, &c.

That the above *strap and buckle* were much used in the early part of the fifteenth century, appears very certain. A figure from the ‘Biblia Pauperum,’ having the same, will be seen in Plate 19 ; a statue of St. George, from Henry Vth’s monument, the effigy of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, the figure of Henry V. in the Bedford Missal, and that of the Earl of Salisbury, from a manuscript of Lydgate, all of them monuments of early date, have this fastening ; as may be seen in Plates 20, 21, 25 and 26.

In manuscripts and other monuments of a later date, whatever other contrivances may have been sometimes substituted in its stead, this mode of fastening the breast-plate is comparatively seldom seen. In the fine illuminated manuscript of 1443, above referred to, and which abounds in subjects filled with armed figures, I discovered only one instance of it, which is copied in Plate 28. It is true, that its rare occurrence in illuminated manuscripts may partly be accounted for, by the small dimensions of the figures ; the fondness of the illuminists for fine colours, which often caused them to avoid as much as they could the introduction of figures in plain armour ; and the custom which prevailed of covering the upper breast-plate with coloured silk, which may thus be supposed in many cases to hide the said fastening. Sometimes, indeed, I have found it so slightly indicated as to be scarcely perceptible ; as I shall hereafter shew more fully in speaking of the MS. XV. E. 4. In the collections of the late Rev. Mr. Kerich, concerning armour, in the British Museum, I find a monument of one Petro Andrea Brandensi, A. D. 1482, at Pisa, having



this strap and buckle; also notice of a picture of St. Michael, by Pietro Perugino, in which the breast-plate was fastened in the same manner. I must add, that I have found examples of this fastening in German wood-cuts of the fifteenth century, evidently several years later than those of the Speculum; and that, in the third volume of Cicognara's History of Sculpture, the same may be seen in a medalion of one of the Medici family, bearing the date 1505. However, Dr. Meyrick, it will be remembered, does not speak as if his rule were without exception.

In our English sepulchral effigies of these times, we have not that decisive evidence, upon the point in question, which might otherwise be expected from them, because of two circumstances. For, first, they often have the breast-plate covered by the emblazoned surcoat, which may thus be supposed to hide this strap and buckle, if the armour of the party had it; and, in the second place, the hands are very commonly represented in them raised to the breast, and joined in the act of prayer; so that the part where the strap and buckle, if they existed, would appear, is often hid from the eye. All, therefore, that I shall at present say upon the subject of these monumental figures, is, that I do not remember to have observed among them any instance of the two breast-plates fastened with the strap and buckle, except that of the Earl of Warwick above-mentioned, whose hands chance to be separated from each other, in consequence of their having originally held an anchor between them.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Not long after Dr. Meyrick had favoured me with his valuable dissertation, I took the liberty of asking him, if it was in his power, to furnish me with fuller evidence of the disuse of this fastening at the time he has mentioned, and I received from him in answer as follows:

"In the following monumental effigies, the lower plate of the breast-plate is not fastened to the upper by a strap and buckle. After 1439, this mode of fastening was disused: an occasional instance of its use afterwards, might, perhaps, be found, but it would be an exception to the general rule: *Sir Rob. Greshill*, in Stothard's Monumental Effigies, about the year 1440, if not earlier, evidently without the strap; [this monument is misnamed, being in reality that of Lord Bardolf, see Plate 20, No. 5.] *Rich. Tresham*, cut on a slab; he died 1433, but the style of the armour is probably later, (Gough's Effigies, vol. 2, p. 195) evidently without the strap. *Two Monuments*,

At the close of his dissertation, Dr. Meyrick says, that

“ He takes no notice of the *shields* and *weapons*, as they were all used from the commencement, till the latter part of the reign of Henry VI.”

I confess that I felt desirous of some more particular information upon these points, some evidence, if possible, that none of them were of later invention than the date which Dr. Meyrick has assigned to the cuts of the Speculum; and, upon my applying to him, he immediately gave me satisfaction as to the *ensign* or *guidon*, as it was called, with the *single narrow pennon*, represented in each of those cuts, by referring me to an illuminated manuscript of about A. D. 1400, entitled, ‘*Le Cronique de St. Denis*,’ No. 2433, of the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum; besides which, I find the same to be introduced two or three times in a picture by an eminent artist, William of Cologne, said to have been painted for a chapel in that city in the year 1410.<sup>61</sup>

one being a brass-plate, in Letheringham Church, Suffolk, (Gough, vol. 2, pp. 27, 28) both certainly subsequent to 1439, are without. *The Duke of Somerset*, 1444, (Gough, vol. 2, p. 132) without. (See Plate 20 No. 6) *John Barnard*, 1451, (Gough, vol. 2, p. 167) evidently without. *Rob. Lord Hungerford*, 1455, (Stothard) not quite clear. *Brass of Will. Yelverton*, 1470, (Gough, vol. 2, p. 230) evidently without. *Ditto of the Say Family*, 1473, (Gough, vol. 2, p. 220) certainly without. *Ditto of Sir Thomas Vaughan*, temp. Edw. IV. (Moule’s Westminster Abbey) decidedly without. *Sir J. Crosbie*, 1475, (Gough, vol. 2, p. 243) without. *Sir Anthony Grey*, 1480, (Gough, vol. 2, p. 269) evidently without. *Sir Thomas Peyton*, 1484, (Ibid. p. 250) clearly without. See also Utterson’s ‘*Arthur, King of Little Britain*.’” I may observe, of the last mentioned work, that the armed figures have always the breast-plate composed of three or more pieces, and that, therefore, the strap and buckle are not to be expected in it.

<sup>61</sup> The ensign, so shaped, is not often found in illuminations. More commonly it has one, two, or three pennons, which, at their origin, occupy the whole breadth of the silk of which it is made. *The ensign with three pennons*, occurs not unfrequently as a *paper-mark*, in the fourteenth, and the early part of the fifteenth centuries: I am disposed to conjecture that it was customary to cut off these pennons one by one, as the gentleman, whose arms it bore, acquired encreased military rank; until, at length, it became a *square banner*, like that also once represented in the above story of David; though, when I say this, I must admit, that I have never yet met with this ensign with one pennon only cut off, and two remaining. Upon this subject, I extract the



Dr. Meyrick's own collection furnished me, also, with a specimen of an *oblong shield, curved zigzag*, like that of the recumbent figure on the left, in the story of Sanger, which Dr. Meyrick considers of the time of Henry VI., and believes to have been fabricated in Germany, or the Low Countries. But for the *circular shields*, which from their frequency constitute a leading feature in the costume of the Speculum, I could not, for a length of time, find any old authority; nor indeed for the *sabre*, with its peculiar guard, also constantly occurring there, unless in the 'Biblia Pauperum.' (See Plate 19\*.) In my subsequent researches, however, in the British Museum and elsewhere, I succeeded in finding this sabre, in manuscripts quite old

following notice from the second volume of Dr. Meyrick's 'Treatise on Armour,' pp. 54, 55.

"When the Black Prince, in the 29th of Edward III. led an army into France, he caused proclamation to be made, that every one should bear the arms of St. George; he himself having a *double-antient* or *ensign*. (Thomas de la More's Journal, printed in Stowe's Chronicles, p. 256.) The difference between the *guidon* and *banner*, is illustrated by the following anecdote from Joshua Barnes: 'As the two armies (before the battle of Nagera) approached near together, the Prince went over a little hill, in the descending whereof he saw plainly his enemies marching towards him: wherefore, when the whole army was come over this mountain, he commanded that they should make an halt, and so fit themselves for fight. At that instant the Lord John Chandos brought his *ensign*, folded up, and offered it to the prince, saying: 'Sir, here is my *guidon*, I request your highness to display it abroad, and to give me leave to raise it this day as my *banner*; for I thank God and your highness, I have lands and possessions sufficient to maintain it withall.' The Prince took the *pennon*, and having cut off the tail (this tail, says Dr. Meyrick, was by the French called *fanon*, whence the English word *fane* to imply a weather-cock) made it a *square banner*; and this done, both he and King Don Pedro, for the greater honour, holding it between their hands, displayed it abroad, it being, Or, a sharp pile gules: and then the Prince delivered it unto the Lord Chandos again, saying: 'Sir John, behold here is your *banner*. God send you much joy and honour with it.' And thus being made a knight banneret, the Lord Chandos returned to the head of his men, and said: 'Here, gentlemen, behold my *banner* and yours. Take it and keep it to your honour and mine.' And so they took it with a shout, and said, 'by the grace of God and St. George they would defend it to the best of their powers:' but the banner remained in the hands of a gallant English esquire, named William Allestry, who bore it all that day, and acquitted himself in the service right honourably."

enough for my purpose, (see Plates 26 and 29) ; and, after many unsuccessful endeavours to find the shield, I had at length the good fortune to discover it in an illuminated Dutch manuscript, of a date at least thirty or forty years earlier than that at which Dr. Meyrick has placed the Speculum ; as the reader will perceive by turning to Plate 23, where specimens of the armour in this manuscript are engraved, and where he will find two examples of this *circular shield*, one of them so closely resembling that held by the combatant with whom king David is immediately engaged, even in the details of its ornament, as will scarcely fail to surprise him.

I shall only further observe, of the above two cuts of Sanger and David, that the leg and thigh armour of a vanquished combatant on the right, in each of these designs, appears formed by a covering of silk or other stuff, padded, and strengthened by narrow rods of iron, ranged perpendicularly at equal distances ; and that the same will be found (unless, indeed, I mistake this appearance) in the monumental effigy of Sir Miles Stapleton, of 1365, at Plate 20 No. 1, and in a figure from a Dutch manuscript of about 1420, in the collection of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, at Plate 24.

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#### FURTHER REMARKS ON THE COSTUME OF THE SPECULUM, AND DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

IN speaking of the plates of costume now to be produced, I shall offer some remarks, in addition to what Dr. Meyrick has said in the foregoing dissertation ; besides which, I shall occasionally borrow from that gentleman's printed works, or from other quarters, such short illustrative passages as seem suited to my purpose : if, in doing this, I should sometimes fall into repetition, it is because I could not well avoid it, consistently with my wish, to convey to the reader the



most complete idea possible, of the armour and other costume of the Speculum, in all their varieties.



The armour of Jephtha, in the 10th Cut of the Speculum,—the copy of which, for the sake of easy reference, is here re-produced—is decidedly of an early character. The *palette* of an oblong form, defending the arm-pit, as here represented, is sufficiently common in monumental effigies and illuminations of the early part of Henry VIth's reign, but is comparatively seldom found in those of later date. We see it in the brass monuments, among others, of Sir Thomas Bromflete, who died 1430, and of Sir Thomas Chaucer, son of the poet, in 1431; (see Gough's 'Sepulchral Antiquities') also in that of Sir Brian Stapleton, in 1432, (Plate 21, No. 3.), and in the monument of Lord Bardolf, of about 1438 or earlier, (Plate 20 No. 3.); also in two illuminated manuscripts of Lydgate, in the British Museum, of







about An. 1420 and 1433, of which specimens are given in Plate 26. The manner of fastening on these *palettes*, by a thong or string which passed through them, is very clearly represented in the larger figure, in the last mentioned plate, and is slightly indicated in the wood-cut.

The *breast-plate* of Jephtha is of the square kind, already mentioned, and upon which I shall have future occasion to speak. The *taces*, covering the abdomen, have a remarkable appearance; the *laminæ* being pushed up, and forced within each other, more on one side than on the other, in consequence of the action of the figure; of which effect another illustration will be found, in a kneeling figure, in Plate 26, taken from one of the above mentioned manuscripts of Lydgate. He has no *tuilles*; but, instead thereof, trappings to protect the upper part of the thighs, and the *military girdle*, as it is called; which last does not often occur in monuments of a late period. He wears a *pointed bascinet*, his crown over it, with *large circular oreilletes*, and the *mentoniere*. One of his three attendants has a similar helmet, with the *mentoniere*, and the *hausse-col*, or circle of plate surrounding the throat, of which future mention will occur; the second has the *Montauban hat*, noticed by Dr. Meyrick, and the third wears a helmet, with the visor raised.

*Plate 11.* The figures in the upper part of this plate are taken from Cut 30; the group on the left being from the design entitled, ‘David susceptus est cum laudibus,’ and the figure on the right from that of ‘Helyodorus flagellabatur.’

One of the attendants of David wears the *Montauban hat*, and has the large *round shield*, before mentioned; the second has the *bascinet with the camail*, or gorget of mail, covering the chin, the throat and the shoulders; a costume, almost constant in the last half of the fourteenth century, and frequent in the beginning of the fifteenth, but *very seldom*, or, according to Dr. Meyrick, *never*, occurring after the early part of the reign of Henry VI. See the monumental effigy of Sir Miles Stapleton, said to have died in 1365, at Plate 20, No. 1., and other specimens of the *camail*, from manuscripts of from about 1390 to 1430, in Plates 23, 24, and 25. The *camail* is of constant



occurrence in the block-book of the '*Apocalypse*,' and is sometimes found, also, in the '*Biblia Pauperum*' and the '*Book of Canticles*.' (See Plates 19, and 19\*.)

The third attendant, who bears the king's square banner, whereon is emblazoned his harp, has a *visor'd helmet*, with the *mentoniere* and *circular oreillettes*, and the neck-covering, or *hausse-col*, of plate; and David, also, has *large circular oreillettes*, with the *pointed bascinet* and the *mentoniere*. Examples of the *hausse-col*, taken from monumental effigies, will be found in Plates 20 and 21. In the figures numbered 4 and 5, in the former plate, it appears to be worn over the *camail*, the lower edge of which shews itself, projecting from underneath the *hausse-col*, upon the shoulders. In Plates 26 and 27, we have good specimens of the *mentoniere*, from manuscripts of from about 1433 to 1450; especially, an excellent example, in the latter plate, of the *mentoniere*, worn with a pointed helmet and *large circular oreillettes*, from an illuminated Dutch manuscript dated Anno 1435.

The figure of David has also the *tuilles*, attached to the lowest lamina of the *taces*, and covering the upper part of the thigh in front, and smaller *tuilles* behind; as in the monumental effigy of John Duke of Somerset, An. 1444, at Plate 20, No. 6, and in that of the Earl of Warwick, who died 1439, at Plate 21, which Dr. Meyrick believes to have been cast from a suit of the Earl's own armour, made some time previously. At Plate 21, No. 4, and in Plate 22, other monumental effigies, of a later period, are represented, having larger *tuilles* behind, and at the sides, and which on the whole bear much less resemblance to the armour of the *Speculum*, than do the two older monuments, above mentioned.

The equestrian figure, on the right, from the story of Heliodorus, has the pointed *helmet* and *visor*, the *hausse-col*, and the *square breast-plate*, of which last I shall speak more particularly presently; and, instead of *taces*, the abdomen and the upper part of the thighs are covered with something resembling scales, or leaves ranged over each other in the manner of scales, and terminating in numerous trappings, over which he wears the *military belt*. These scales or

leaves, as well as the trappings, were probably made of thick leather, or of plates and chain covered with that material, which it is very certain was, in various ways, much used in armour from an early period. The curved, concave, form of his shield may seem remarkable. But this was not uncommon, from the early part to the middle of the 15th century. A shield, almost exactly like it, is to be found in one of the cuts of the Book of Canticles, (see Plate 19); another, somewhat different, will be seen in the story of Sanger; a third, not very unlike, in the Biblia Pauperum (see Plate 19\*); and three others, but of a different shape, are given at Plate 28, copied from a manuscript of the year 1443. It is important to observe, that neither this figure, nor the two equestrian figures of Jephtha and David, has the long pointed toe, which, as Dr. Meyrick informs us, came into fashion in the latter part of the reign of Henry VI. and was often carried to a ridiculous excess in that of Edward IV.

The two figures below are taken from Cuts 14, and 22, entitled, 'Vellus Gedeonis expletum' &c., and 'Moyses projecit coronam Pharaonis et fregit'; and the different parts of the armour, in both, are expressed with great distinctness.

Gideon has the pointed *bascinet* and the *mentoniere*; and over the *bascinet* he wears a *wreath* or *circlet* of honour. These *circlets* are frequent in our finest monumental effigies of the early part of the 15th century, but are not often found afterwards. Specimens of them, taken from sepulchral effigies, are given at Plate 20. The body-armour of this figure is the *square breast-plate*, with *taces*, and the *tuilles*; and over his shoulders is a short mantle, or cloak, similar to one in a Dutch manuscript of 1435, represented in Plate 27; save that it is a little shorter. He wears a large sabre, the guard of which is of a very simple construction. The same, as I before said, is of frequent occurrence in the Speculum, and we also have it in the 'Biblia Pauperum.' (See Plate 19\*). I found it also in one of the above-mentioned manuscripts of Lydgate, (Plate 26.); and again in a manuscript of about 1445, in the collection of Mr. Douce, of which specimens are given at Plate 29.



The *square breast-plate*, so distinctly represented in this figure, and which is so frequent in the *Speculum*, occurs also in the block-book of the 'Apocalypse,' in the 'Biblia Pauperum,' and in the 'Book of Canticles,' (see Plates 19, and 19\*) but is seldom, if ever, to be found in manuscripts illuminated in France ; at least I do not remember to have met with it in any of the numerous manuscripts written in that country that I have examined. I know of no instance of it among English monumental effigies, nor indeed among those of any other country ; though it is possible such may exist in Germany or Flanders : for, in Holland, as has been said, scarcely any monumental figure of the time we are speaking of, has been preserved to our day. Dr. Meyrick mentions an ivory cross-bow in his possession, ornamented with figures, one or more of them having this square breast-plate, (see an outline of this cross-bow, by Skelton, in Sir S. R. Meyrick's new work) ; and I also found, in a fine illuminated manuscript of Lydgate, done as a present for Henry VI. in 1433, specimens of armour approaching to this character, two or three of which are copied in Plate 26. In a manuscript Bible, in Dutch, of about 1420, as I suppose, in the fine collection of the Duke of Sussex,—a collection which His Royal Highness is, I believe, desirous to make as available as possible to persons of research,—I found decided examples of it, (see Plate 24) ; also, in a duplicate copy of the same translation, of the same period, in the Royal Library at the Hague (Plate 25), and in a beautifully decorated manuscript, done about 1450, for Philip le Bon, in the same Collection, (see Plate 27). It is difficult to conceive in what manner these square breast-plates were constructed. In one of the figures of the Duke of Sussex's manuscript, (I mean the figure at Plate 24, on the right at top), it appears to be formed of various parallel laminae of steel, like the *taces* ; in Lydgate's manuscript (Plate 26) the whole seems to be covered by some flexible material, as if to keep the parts together, and in their places ; and, here and there, in the *Speculum*, indications may be perceived, shewing I think, that a covering of this kind was intended ; though I confess they are less clearly expressed than they might have been.

It is remarkable that, upon several of these square breast-plates in the Speculum, this among the number, an *inverted triangle* is introduced, drawn with double lines, and small circles at the corners. It has been suggested to me, and I think it probable, that this may have been intended as emblematic of the Holy Trinity. The same triangle will be seen upon two similar breast-plates, from the 'Biblia Pauperum,' and on another from the 'Book of Canticles,' at Plates 19, and 19\* ; a circumstance which the reader may add, if he pleases, to the various other matters pointed out by me in Chapter XII. in proof that the 'Biblia Pauperum,' the 'Book of Canticles' and the 'Speculum,' proceeded from the same school, and, indeed, that they were all executed, in part at least, by the same artists.

The other figure, on the right, has the *Montauban hat*, already mentioned, of not unfrequent occurrence in the Speculum, and of which the reader will find an example from our Dutch manuscript of about 1390, before noticed, at Plate 23, and various others, in manuscripts of from 1420 to 1430, at Plates 24, and 25. His *breast-plate* is formed of *two pieces*, the lower piece being fastened to the upper by the *strap and buckle*, so strongly insisted upon by Dr. Meyrick as evidence of the antiquity of these cuts, and of the early use of which examples, already mentioned, will be found at Plates 19, 20, 21, 25, 26 and 28.

Each shoulder is defended by five small circular plates, ranged in the form of a flower : the same may be observed in the armour of one of the attendants of David, above ; also in three other figures from the Speculum, at Plates 13 and 14, and in the figure of a Standard-bearer, one of those overthrown by David, in the 34th Cut, before copied, and prefixed to Dr. Meyrick's dissertation. I have the more willingly noticed this peculiarity, because the same covering to the shoulders will be found in two figures from the 'Biblia Pauperum,' and the 'Book of Canticles,' at Plates 19 and 19\* ; and because the circumstance, though trifling, may assist in convincing the reader of what I have already so often observed, that these works proceeded from the

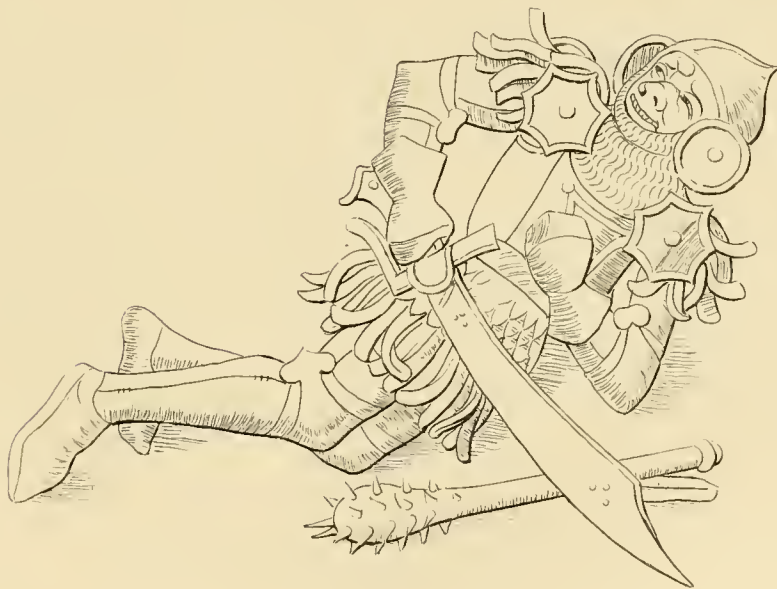


same school. This figure has also *taces*, covering the abdomen, to which are attached the *tuilles*.

*Plate 12.* The figure on the left, at top, is from Cut 32, representing the meeting of Abraham and Melchisedeck; the group on the right, from Cut 18, inscribed “*Tres fortes attulerūt*’ &c.; and the figure below is from Cut 26, representing the death of Goliath.

The *breast-plate* of Abraham, in the first figure, is composed of an upper and a lower piece, which are not however fastened to each other by a strap and buckle, but by some other means, not apparent; as is so often the case in monumental effigies, and in illuminations in manuscripts. Perhaps, indeed, we ought to suppose it covered with some flexible material. In all other respects, the armour of this figure bears so striking a resemblance to that of Richard Earl of Warwick, at Plate 21, as to afford strong support to the opinion of Dr. Meyrick, that the one and the other are of the same period. The *pauldrons*, or plates covering the shoulders, and the pieces defending the elbows and joint of the arms, are as nearly as possible, the same; the number and shape of the *taces*, the form and dimensions of the *tuilles*, and the distance at which they are placed from each other, are exactly alike in both; both have the same *chain skirt*, hanging down under the *taces*, and seen between the *tuilles* (a little more of it being perceived in the figure of Warwick than in the other, in consequence, only, of that figure having been drawn from a lower point of view); and, besides the leg-armour, both have plates of the same shape, defending the joint of the knee, on the outside. David has a spear, with a small pennon attached to it near its point. The reader will find a similar specimen, taken from our Dutch manuscript before mentioned of c. 1390, at Plate 23.

The kneeling figure, in the group on the right, has a pointed *bascinet*, with large circular *oreillettes* and the *mentoniere*, the *square breast-plate*, with *taces* and the *tuilles*; and, lastly, large circular plates covering the top and front of the shoulders, of which various other instances occur in the *Speculum*, and in the ‘*Biblia Pauperum*’, and which are indeed very common in illuminations, from the begin-













ning of the 15th century to a late period. (See Plates 19, 19\*, 23, 25, and 28.

The two figures standing behind, have, both, the *square breast-plate*; that on the right wears a *salade* with the *mentoniere*; his abdomen, and the upper part of his thighs, are covered with trappings, in lieu of the *taces*; and over his shoulder is slung, by a broad strap, the *large round shield* before spoken of; as in a specimen from the early Dutch manuscript, before referred to, at Plate 23.

The other figure has the *Montauban hat* with a *circlet* of honour, the *square breast-plate*, and large heavy plates covering the shoulders, like those, above noticed, on the figure of Abraham.

The larger figure of Goliah, below, has the *pointed bascinet*, with the *camail*, and *circular oreillettes*. He has the *square breast-plate*, with the triangular ornament upon it, whatever it be, which has been already mentioned. His shoulders, as well the abdomen, and the upper part of the thighs, are covered with trappings; and his arm-pits are defended by sept-angular *palettes*, each fastened in the middle by a button, or some such contrivance.

*Plate 13.* The two groups engraved in this plate, are taken from Cut 33; the upper one representing Sampson slaying the Philistines, the lower, the soldiers, sent to take Christ, fallen to the ground, upon being addressed by him in the garden; and it is remarkable, that no one figure, in either of these groups, has the *tuilles*. In speaking of these groups, I shall chiefly confine myself to the notice of such peculiarities in the armour, as have not occurred in the foregoing plates.

The armour of Sampson is of a very early character. A semi-circular piece is cut out of the lowest plate of the *taces*, in order that when the wearer is on horseback, that part of his armour may not be pushed up so high as it otherwise would be, by the pummel of the saddle, thereby exposing the thighs. The same will be seen in several figures from the 'Biblia Pauperum,' and the 'Book of Canticles,' at Plates 19, and 19\*, in some of which instances, small *tuilles* are added at the sides, for the further protection of the outer part of the thigh; also, in two specimens at Plate 25, the one from a Dutch manuscript of



about 1420, the other being the figure of King Henry V. in the celebrated Bedford Missal. His weighty round shield is slung over his shoulder, by a broad strap, or belt (such as has been before mentioned); which, partially hiding the upper portion of the breast-plate, leaves it uncertain whether or not the two pieces of which it is formed were intended by the artist to be fastened by the strap and buckle. Under the *taces*, is a bordered skirt, regular in its formation, and divided perpendicularly in the middle. Another example of the same may be seen in the plate following, a second, from the 'Book of Canticles,' at Plate 19, and two others a good deal like it, taken from the Dutch manuscript, before referred to, of about the year 1390, are given in Plate 23.

One of the vanquished Philistines, on the left, has his body covered with broad stripes of leather, as I suppose, which cross each other, alternately, in front. Something of the same kind seems to have been intended in a figure in the 'Biblia Pauperum,' copied at Plate 19\*; and the Dutch manuscript Bible of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, before mentioned, and many other illuminated manuscripts, furnish instances of the same kind which I have not thought it necessary to engrave.

One of the men, whom Sampson has overthrown, he with his face to the ground, on the right, has his body covered with a sort of defensive armour, which was called the '*pourpoint*,' like that on the monumental effigy of Sir Miles Stapleton at Plate 20; and the figure above this last, and another in the group below, have the front of the legs defended by pieces, perhaps made of strong leather, probably '*cuir boullie*,' in the shape of the leaves of some plant. The same will be seen in a figure in the following Plate 14; and it is important to remark that, although I do not remember to have met with the same leg-armour in French or English manuscripts, it is found in the Dutch manuscript book of prayers, of about the year 1390 (Plate 23), and in the Dutch Bible of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. (See Plate 24.) One of the figures, in the lower group, has also the *mamelieres*, a part of armour which the plate next following will afford me further opportunity of noticing.







*Plate 14.* The group at the top of this plate, on the left, representing Christ taken in the garden, is from Cut 35; the figure of the soldier drawing his sword, on the right, is from Cut 42; the three figures, immediately below, are from Cut 48; and the soldier with the hammer, on the right, is from Cut 43. The figures of the two soldiers sleeping, at bottom, are from Cut 55, representing the Resurrection of Christ, which is one of those executed, as has been said, by the last artist employed upon the work.

A soldier behind Christ, on the left, has the *pointed bascinet* and the *camail*; another, behind him, on the right, has the *bascinet* with the *mentoniere*, the *hausse-col*, and *circular oreillettes*. See a standing figure, strikingly like it in character, at Plate 27, taken from a Dutch manuscript of the year 1435. The soldier, in front of the group, who is seizing Christ, wears the *hausse-col* over the *camail*—as in two early monuments at Plate 20—and the *Montauban hat*; this figure, altogether, with the round plates at his elbows, and his chain skirts, a good deal resembling a figure from the Bedford Missal, engraved in Plate 25.

Excepting in one instance, the figures in this plate, like those in the last, are without the *tuilles*; and, in this case, they are added, as in the ‘*Biblia Pauperum*,’ to the lower plate of the *taces*, out of which a *semi-circular piece* had, for the reason before given, been previously cut: a circumstance which would seem to countenance the opinion, that the designs for these cuts were made before the *tuilles* were very common, and at a time when, as a new and useful contrivance, they were occasionally affixed, as adjuncts, to armour which had been made before they were invented.

The murdered king, below this figure, has the *mamellieres*; which were two small projecting pieces on the breasts, to each of which was sometimes attached a chain, the one fastened to the sword-hilt, and the other to the scabbard, or to the handle of the dagger. The sword-hilt attached to a chain, in this manner, is of frequent occurrence in early seals of feudal chiefs on horseback. An example of the *mamellieres*, but without the chains, is given at Plate 23, taken from



our Dutch manuscript of about 1390. A ring upon the breast-plate of a figure, in Plate 24, was perhaps intended to serve the same purpose.

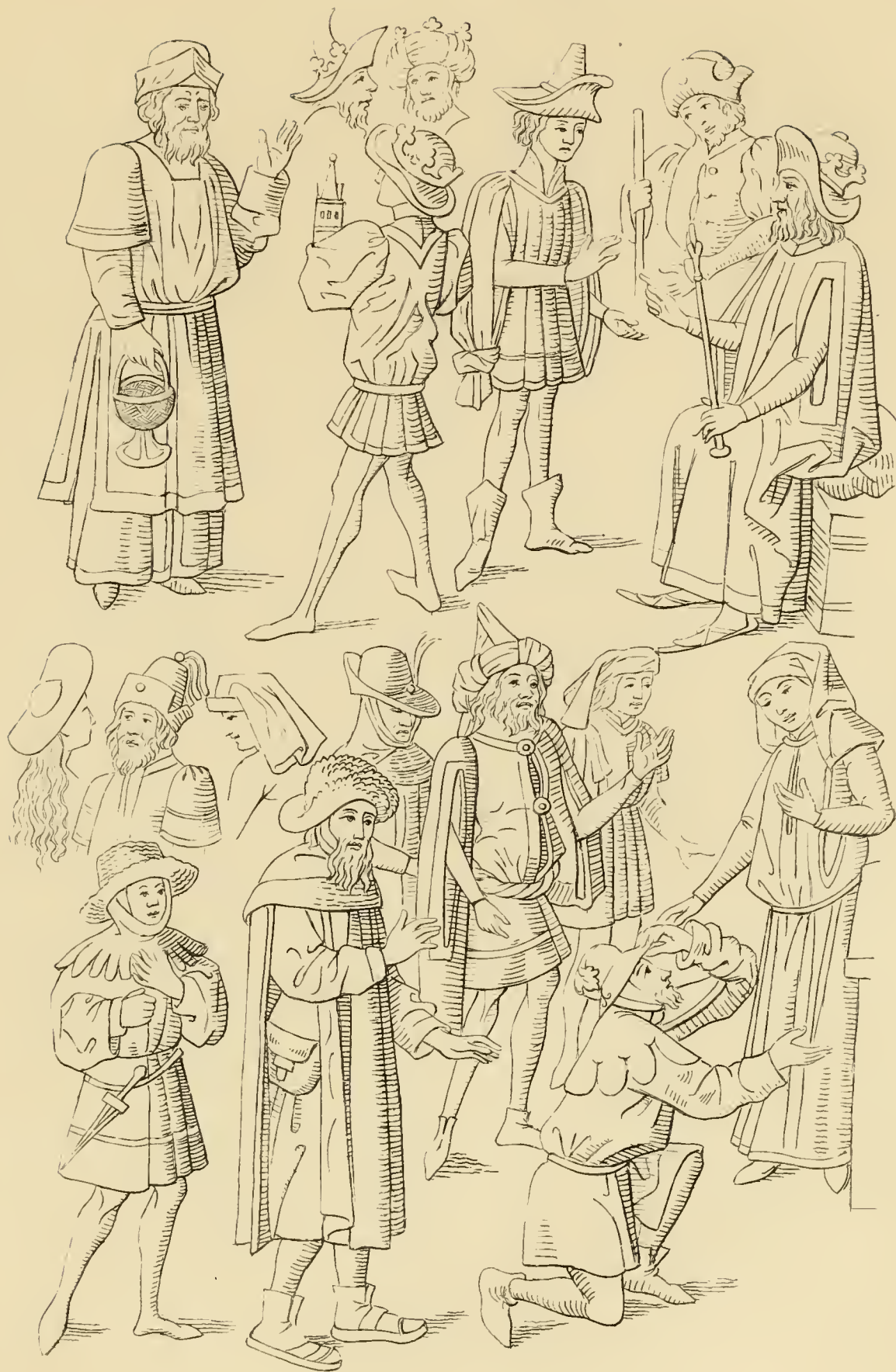
The enormous mask, on the shield of the warrior who is slaying this king, may seem a fanciful introduction of the artist. Authorities for it, however, of a very early date, might be cited; but it will suffice, for our purpose, to refer the reader to Plate 25, where he will find a shield with the same gigantic mask, seen in profile, taken from the Bedford Missal.

The soldier with the hammer, on the right, has a *pointed bascinet*, with *circular oreillettes*, and the *camail*; his body-armour, I suspect, from the character of the ornament upon it, is not intended for plate armour, but for the *gambeson*, of which specimens may be seen at Plate 26, taken from one of Lydgate's manuscripts.

The two soldiers sleeping, at the bottom of this plate, are, as has been said, taken from one of the latter cuts of the work. He on the left appears to wear a skull-cap, or *cervelliere*, made of leather, or cloth of some kind, worked in *pourpoint*, and strengthened with ribs of iron: his body-armour seems to be the *gambeson*. His companion has a plain skull-cap, and under it the *camail*.

*Plate 15.* In this plate are collected together examples of the ordinary dresses of the male figures, in the first 48 cuts of the *Speculum*; and the head of a girl, also, is introduced on the left, having a large straw hat, such as is now used by the fish-women of Schevelen, and of which a specimen from a Dutch manuscript may be seen in Plate 24, and another, from the Bedford Missal, at Plate 25. I have not thought it necessary to seek for, and copy from manuscripts, distinct specimens of all these varieties of dress, most of which are of very common occurrence in illuminations of the fifteenth century. The reader will find turbans, and other head-coverings of men, a good deal like some of these, in Plates 24 and 25.

*Plate 16.* The figure of the youth, in the upper part of this plate, bears a striking resemblance in the costume to one from a manuscript of Lydgate, of about 1420, or 1425, which is copied in Plate 26. In both







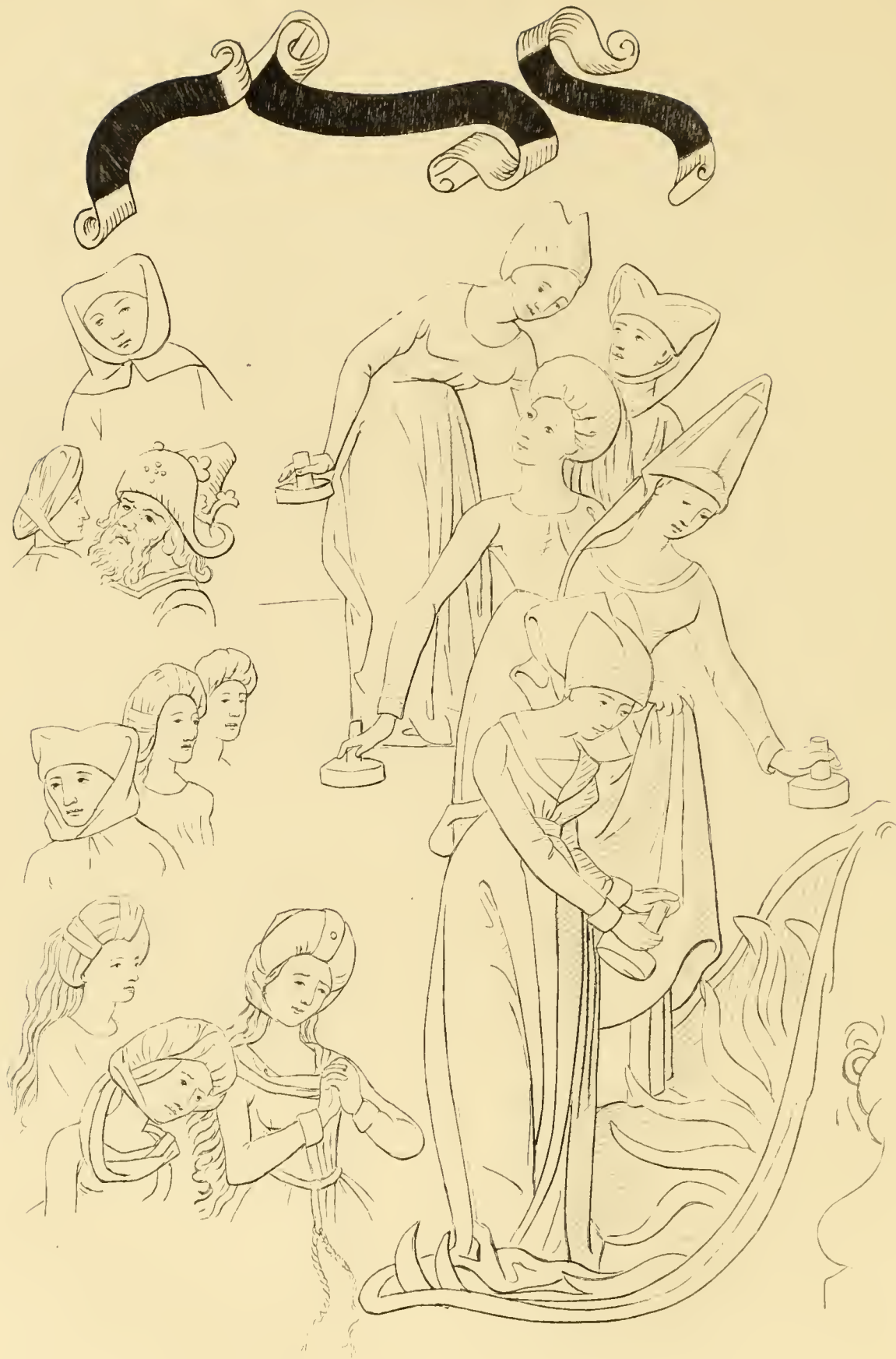












figures, (and I could produce similar examples from other manuscripts) the cloth cap with its ample drapery, so commonly used in the fifteenth century in most parts of Europe, is thrown over the shoulder; the shorter folds hanging behind, and the longer and narrower drapery falling in front; the only difference being that, in the figure from the Speculum, it reaches the ground, and that, in the other, it is prevented doing so, by being accidentally passed over the left arm.

The rest of this plate is devoted to the female costume of the Speculum. The common head-dress of the women is a large turban, apparently of linen, which is often tied under the chin with a drapery of the same material passing over it, or otherwise connected with it. This head-dress is seldom, if ever, found in French or English illuminations; but is of frequent occurrence in those of the Low Countries, especially Holland. A specimen from the 'Biblia Pauperum,' (and that work affords many others) is copied in Plate 19\*; and various others, some of them strikingly like those in the Speculum, will be found at Plates 24, 25 and 27, all of them taken from Dutch manuscripts of from about 1420 to 1435. Some of the turbans in the Speculum are ornamented, in the upper part in front, with a small cross, or star, probably intended for embroidery, if not to represent jewelry. The 'Biblia Pauperum,' affords similar examples, which I have not thought it necessary to engrave; and I may add, that in a picture by *Justus van Ghent*, one of the disciples of Hubert van Eyck, which is preserved in the interesting collection of M. d'Huyvetter, a gentleman of that city, I observed a similarly ornamented turban.

*Plate 17.* The specimens of costume, in this plate, are all taken from the latter cuts of the Speculum; which, as has been said, are in a different style from the first forty-eight pieces, and less carefully executed. The parable of the 'Wise and the foolish Virgins,' however, in the 58th and last vignette, which has before been given entire, and of which one of the groups is here repeated in large, may be excepted from this censure; being so beautiful for the design, and finished with so much delicacy, as to render it, on the whole, one of the most admirable pieces in the volume: whence I conclude, that



both the designer (who with all the carelessness betrayed by him in most of these latter cuts, was certainly a man of talent), and the engraver, were stimulated by their employer to exert themselves in the execution of this concluding vignette, in a way they had not done before.

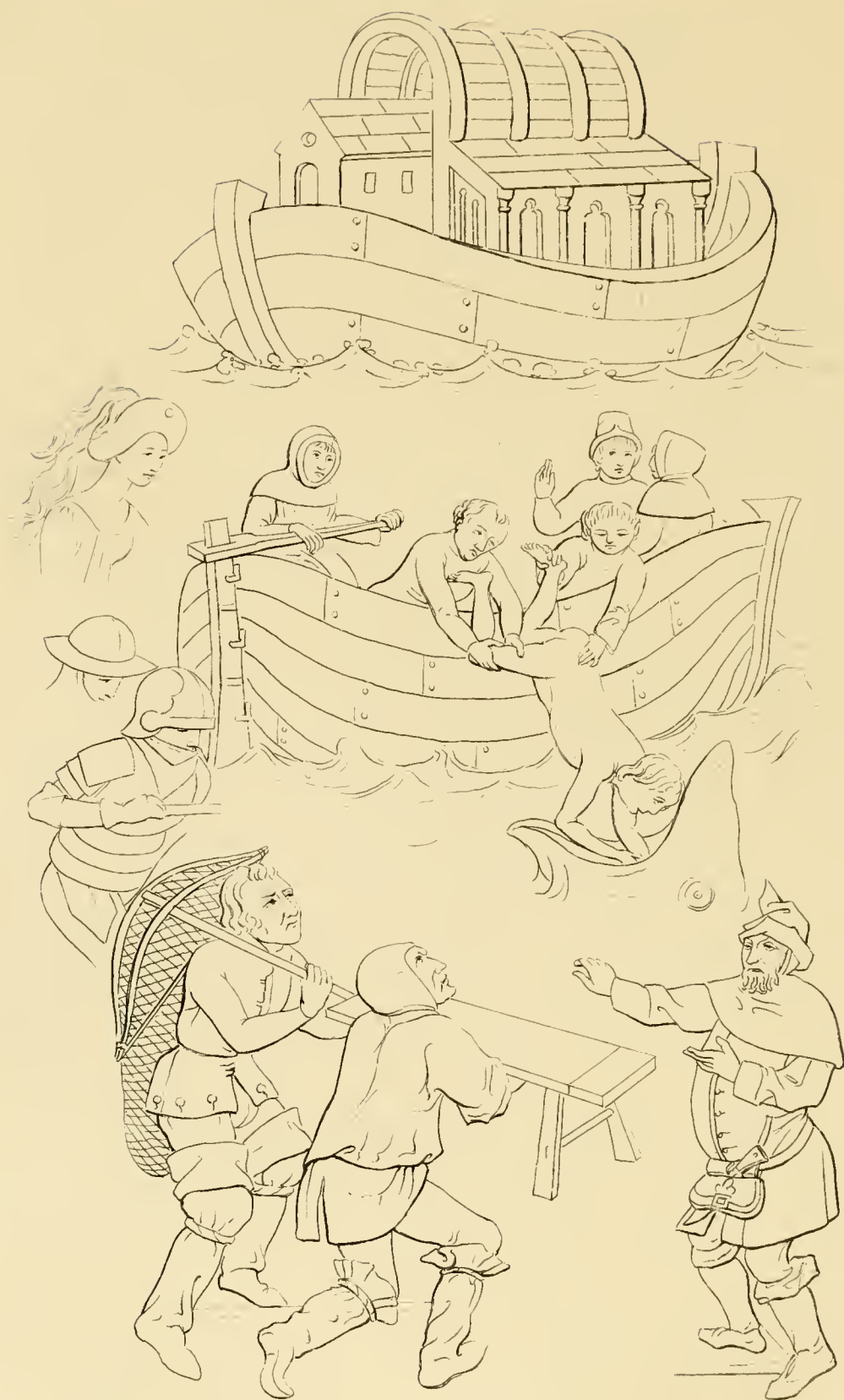
The *three scrolls* at the top of this plate, are taken from the story of Balthazar, and are represented as they appear in Mr. Inglis's unique copy of the first edition, with the whole of the central parts printed black; a peculiarity in this particular copy which I have already noticed, (see p. 279.) The heads, on the left, afford additional specimens of the turban, before spoken of, which the reader, if he pleases, may compare with those taken from the three Dutch manuscripts so often referred to, at Plates 24, 25 and 27. The modest head-dress of another kind, at top, is that of one of the wise virgins.

The five foolish virgins, on the right, are more fashionably attired; three of them have what is sometimes called the *mitred head-dress*, of which examples occur in monumental effigies and illuminated manuscripts, from an early to a somewhat advanced period of the fifteenth century: the fourth wears a turban, her long hair falling behind; and the fifth has a lofty head-dress, much resembling what has been called the *tower head-dress*, but differing from it in this, that instead of inclining backwards, as that attire is commonly represented, and as it appears in a specimen in the upper part of Plate 29, it rises perpendicularly, as on another female figure, in the lower part of that plate, on the right.

The fact appears to be, that this lofty head-dress in the Speculum, was not intended for the legitimate tower head-dress, if I may so express myself, but for an instance of that corruption in the *horned head-dress*, as it was styled, which, in some parts, perhaps, gave rise by degrees to the tower head-dress; for there seems reason to believe that, in some countries, Holland among others, both kinds were, at an early period, used coetaneously. (See Pl. 27.) I know not exactly when to date the first introduction of the fashion, which, from the extravagant pitch some of the ladies carried it to, acquired the appellation of the *horned*







*head-dress*; but it was in high vogue in this country early in the fifteenth century, when it was satirized by Lydgate, who, besides speaking of it in his verses, has given numerous specimens of it in three of his illuminated manuscripts, some of which are copied in Plate 26. Two examples from the ‘*Biblia Pauperum*,’ also, in one of which the horns are raised to a great height, will be found in Plate 19\*; and the Bedford Missal, (Plate 25) and numerous other manuscripts of the first half of the century, abound in examples of the same head-dress, several of which will be found in the other plates accompanying these remarks. (See Plates 26—29.) At length, it appears, the two horns were sometimes raised almost perpendicularly, and pushed so close together, that, when covered with a veil, the separation could scarcely be perceived, and the whole assumed the appearance of a tower. See three or four specimens from a Dutch manuscript of An. 1435, at Plate 27; and two others from a Flemish manuscript, of about 1450, at Plate 29, the one shewing the two horns pushed close together, as has been said, the other having the addition of the veil, as it appears in the Speculum.

It will be observed that I have spoken of the mitred head-dress, and the horned head-dress, as distinct from each other, although I am aware that, in the opinion of some, I may scarcely be justified in separating them. What I term the mitred head-dress, however, is a comparatively modest *coiffure*, which though used early, was also continued late; whilst of the extravagant horned head-dress, (I mean with the horns considerably elevated, but not pushed close to each other) instances become of rare occurrence, even as early as 1450.<sup>62</sup>

*Plate 18.* I have already sufficiently noticed ‘the Ark of Noah,’ from Cut 4, and the vessel out of which Jonas is cast into the sea, from Cut 52, (which last exceedingly resembles the fishing-boats now used at Scheveling), and have also noticed the two fishermen, one of them with his shrimp-net. The standing figure, on the right, I was

<sup>62</sup> I have, indeed, once or twice met with specimens of female head-dresses fantastically represented with horns, as late as Edward IV., but they were of a very different character from those spoken of in the text, and seemed mere whims of the painter.



induced to introduce, because of the purse which he wears, with his knife stuck through it. The custom of wearing a knife or dagger in this way, is undoubtedly early : numerous examples of it are to be found in illuminated manuscripts of the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, one of which from our early Dutch manuscript, the reader will find at Plate 23. When this plate was done, I considered the fashion as particularly characteristic of an early period ; and so to a certain degree it is : but, I have since discovered that it occurs, also, though less frequently, in later manuscripts, and, therefore, I shall not attempt to draw any argument from its being once found in the Speculum.

It will be remembered that Dr. Meyrick wrote the dissertation he was so kind as to present to me, with the cut representing the combats of Sanger and David before him, and that he ends it by saying, that his opinion of the age of the work “is not in the least shaken by an examination of the rest of the cuts.” But it is proper to observe, that, excepting the two soldiers at the Sepulchre, in Cut 55, (copied at Plate 14), the latter cuts of the Speculum—those done by the artist last employed—have no armed figures. Among the cuts, however, which, as has been said, were thrown aside by the original printer, and afterwards inserted by Veldener in one of his quarto editions, are two other subjects with armed figures, namely, that representing ‘the Death of Absalom,’ and the last, entitled ‘Ayoth Eglon regem perforavit.’ They are slight, unfinished performances. For the more perfect satisfaction of the reader, I have copied the armed figure in the first subject, over the net of the fisherman above mentioned. The armour of Ayoth is the same ; both have the *visor’d salade*, round at top, with the *mentoniere*. We have however seen, that this round-topp’d visor’d salade, with mentoniere, occurs twice in the stories of Sanger and David ; and that the same is of sufficiently frequent occurrence in early illuminated manuscripts, is shewn in our Plates 27, 28, and 29.

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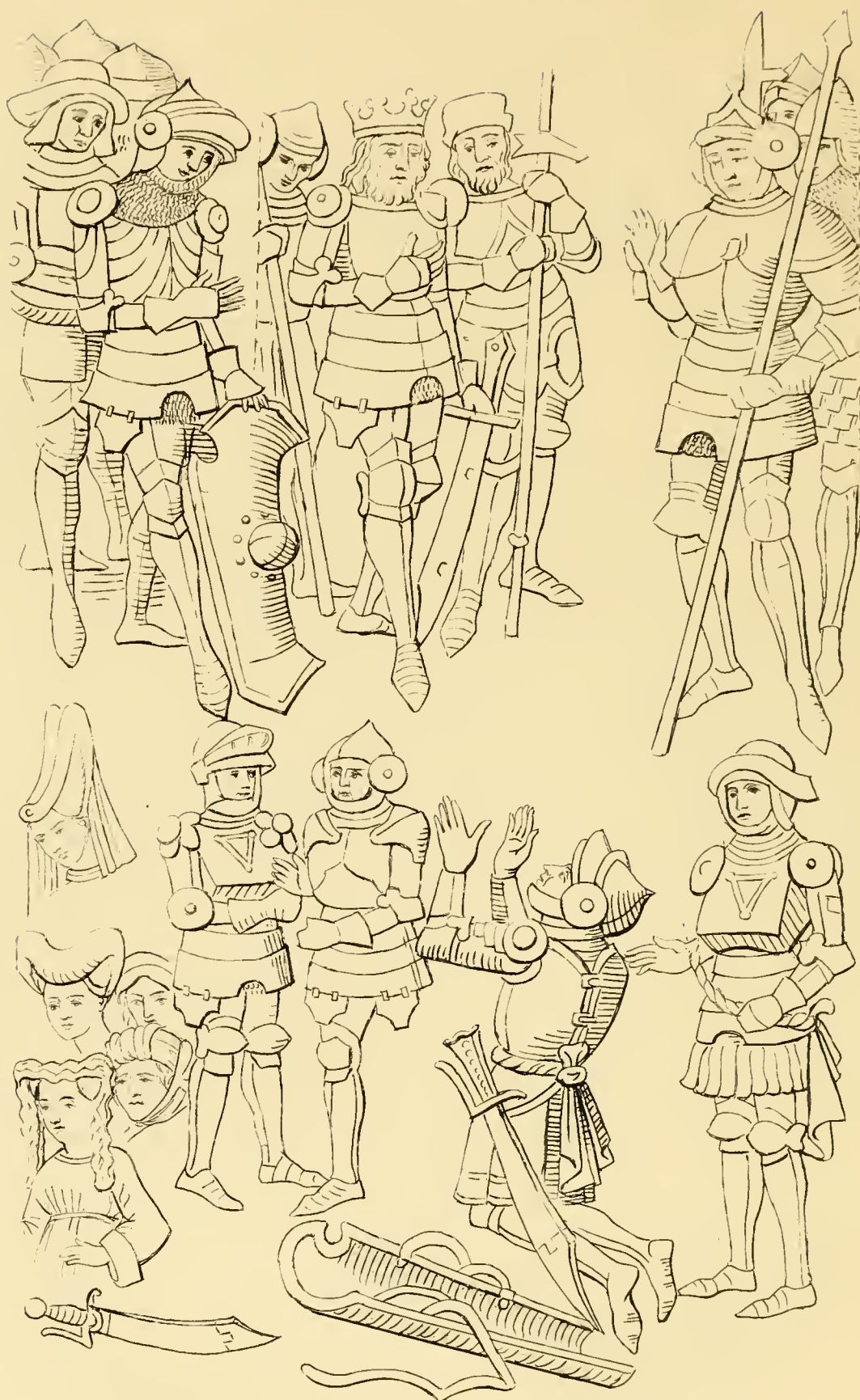












COSTUME OF THE BLOCK-BOOKS OF THE APOCALYPSE, THE BIBLIA  
PAUPERUM, AND THE BOOK OF CANTICLES.

*Plate 19. No. 1.* Specimens are here given of the military costume of the block-book of the 'APOCALYPSE.' The constant occurrence of either the *bascinet and camail*, or the *Montauban hat* with the *camail*, seems to render it improbable that the first edition of this series of wood-engravings (for the original work was certainly copied more than once, in the manner described at pp. 215, 216), should have been executed later than the reign of our Henry V., or the very commencement of that of Henry VI.

*No. 2.* The group of armed warriors here represented, is accurately traced from the 30th design of the 'BOOK OF CANTICLES.' I have already, more than once, noticed certain remarkable peculiarities in the costume, which appear to me to connect this work so decidedly with the 'Biblia Pauperum,' and the 'Speculum Humanæ Salvationis,' as to prove them to be of the same school; as the square projecting breast-plate, with its ornament, or device, in the form of a triangle, formed of double lines; the piece of armour in the form of a flower of four or five leaves, often covering the shoulder; &c. (Compare these figures from 'the Book of Canticles,' with Plates 11, 12, 13, 14, and 19\*). Here again we have the *bascinet and camail*, a *visor'd helmet* with the *camail*, the *skull-cap and camail*, and the *Montauban hat* with the *camail*, much as we find them in the Bedford Missal, and especially in early Dutch manuscripts; also the *circular oreillettes*, &c. (See Plates 23, 24, 25 and 27).

*Plate 19\*.* The costume of the 'Biblia Pauperum' is, evidently, of a somewhat earlier character than that of the Speculum; and the same may be said of its style of art. Mr. Horn, as we have before stated, remembered the having once possessed a copy of this work—of what edition we are not informed—which was bound in a volume with others; with an inscription of the bookbinder on the cover, dated previously to 1430. It is much to be regretted that he did not care-



fully copy the inscription, before he took the book to pieces, or that he did not preserve the cover; and still more that he took it to pieces at all: since a document like this, if upon strict examination it were found to be genuine, would be of inestimable value as an authority, and might furnish a clue to the discovery of the real ages of several of these block-books, which is much wanted.

So far as my imperfect knowledge of the subject of costume extends, I should say that I find nothing in the armour of the 'Biblia Pauperum,' at all to militate against the above date, unless it be, perhaps, that some of the figures have the *tuilles*: for of this part of armour, I have hitherto met with only one example earlier than that in the effigy of Sir Brian Stapleton, of 1432, (Plate 21); namely, the figure of 'St. George,' sculptured among the ornaments of King Henry the Vth's monument, in Westminster Abbey, which there is, I think, good reason to consider three or four years older. This last figure I have caused to be engraved in the following plate, 20; and I think I see in the heavy character of the armour, generally, and in the fashion of some particular parts of it, no small resemblance to some of the figures in the old block-book in question; as in the helmet with its raised visor; the form of the lower breast-plate, and its attachment to the upper plate by the strap and buckle; the breadth and small number of the plates forming the *taces*; and the form of the covering of the knee.

With respect to the *square breast-plate*, which is scarcely less frequent of occurrence in the 'Biblia Pauperum' than in the 'Speculum,' and which, as we have just seen, is found also in the 'Book of Canticles,' the reader is referred to what has been said on the subject in our remarks on Plate 11, and to the specimens, there mentioned, which we have copied from early manuscripts, in Plates 24—27. The *camail* appears twice; worn in one instance with the *bascinet*, in the other with a *visor'd helmet*, round at top, much like that of the 'St. George,' in Henry the Vth's monument.

But the form of the *taces*, and the way in which the *tuilles* are introduced, are more particularly worthy of notice. It will be

observed that, in every instance except one, a semicircular piece is cut out of the lowest plate of the *taces* in front ; as in the figure of Sanger, Cut 34 of the Speculum, and in that of Sampson, copied at Plate 13 ; and as it also appears in Plate 25, in the figure of Henry V., from the Bedford Missal, and in another from a Dutch manuscript of about 1420 ; as well as in two other figures from a manuscript of about 1450, which are copied at Plate 29. The evident intention of this, as has been noticed in our remarks on Plate 13, was to prevent the *taces* from being pushed up, more than could be helped, by the pommel of the saddle, when the wearer was on horseback, and so to prevent the thighs from being exposed more than necessary. This contrivance appears to have preceded the introduction of the *tuilles* by several years, and to have afterwards gradually fallen into disuse.

The *tuilles*, on several accounts, were soon found to be so convenient, that they became almost universally adopted ; there can be little doubt that, for some time after their invention, they were often added to suits of armour which had been made long before ; and this perhaps had been the case with some of the suits which the designer of the 'Biblia Pauperum' had in his eye, when he drew these figures. A similar specimen of the union of the first-mentioned contrivance with the *tuilles*, has been noticed by us in the Speculum, (see remarks on Plate 14), and another will be found at Plate 27, copied from a Dutch manuscript of the year 1435.

On the left of this plate, are specimens of female head-dresses found in this old block-book ; though I ought to say, that the turban is the most frequent of occurrence. The tall, horned head-dress, at top, is from Cut 3 ; and the four heads, below, grouped as they are here represented, are from Cut 14. The upper one of these exhibits this coiffure with the horns of more modest elevation, and as it is most commonly delineated ; though it is found of both kinds, and with various fanciful changes of ornament, in numerous manuscripts of the first half of the fifteenth century. (See Plates 25, 26, 27 and 28.)

The head at bottom has what I should style the mitred head-dress,



with a narrow veil, crimped into small zigzag plaits, laid over it, and hanging down at the sides. The parts of this thin drapery that hang on each side, I used to think intended for long ringlets. But by the kindness of M. L. De Bast, of Ghent, I was not long since presented with a very interesting little volume upon the celebrated painters Hubert and Johan Van Eyck, containing neat etchings of some of their works; when, to my great edification, I found, among them, the portrait of the wife of the latter artist, from a picture painted by him in 1439, and having the same remarkable head-dress. The mitres, with the narrow crimped veil laid over them, are the same in both; the only difference being that, in the portrait, the back part of the head is covered by a bordered mantle, apparently intended for linen, two of the broad folds of which project forward and cover her shoulders, and that the ends of the thin crimped drapery, instead of falling down in front, as they do in the specimen before us, are thrown back, and lost behind the folds of the said mantle.

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#### COSTUME FROM SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS, &c.

*Plate 20.* The specimens in this and the two following plates, are taken from monumental effigies; excepting the figure of 'St. George,' here marked No. 2, and the *cuirass* at Plate 22.

*No. 1.* Represents the effigy of Sir Miles Stapleton, taken from a brass plate of himself and his wife, late in Ingham Church, Norfolk. He is said to have died in 1363. It is here given, because it affords a good specimen of the *bascinet and camail*, and also of that kind of armour of padded work stitched, which was called '*ouvrage de pourpointerie*,' of which an example or two have been noticed among the figures of the *Speculum*. The legs of this figure appear further defended by narrow rods of steel, ranged perpendicularly at equal distances; as has been remarked in two or three instances in the







Speculum, and as will be seen in a figure from a Dutch manuscript of about 1420, at Plate 24.

Stuffed and padded armour of different qualities, and bearing different appellations, appears to have been much used from a very early period. The *pourpoint* seems to have been the finest kind of these, and was distinguished by the elaborate stitching with which it was ornamented. It was worked, as the name imports, through and through, after being stuffed with wool ; its exterior covering was, often, a rich silk ; and the threads of the stitching seem to have been knotted outside, in the manner now often employed in counterpanes ; and indeed, there is reason to believe, that, in old times, the above defensive dress was made by the same artizans who made those necessary articles of furniture.

No. 2. The figure of St. George, here represented, makes one of the decorations of Henry Vth's monument in Westminster Abbey. It is sculptured in stone, like the numerous other figures and ornaments of that extensive work ; and, as nearly as the artist who drew it for me could judge, stands about 5 feet 4 inches high. I gladly insert it here, as, besides that it has the lower breast-plate fastened to the upper by *the strap and buckle*, it affords an example of the *tuilles* which we are, I think, justified in dating three or four years earlier than any other I have hitherto met with.

Dart, in his description of Westminster Abbey, erroneously supposed some part of this monument, that containing this figure among others, to have been added in the time of Henry VII., the entrance to whose celebrated chapel happens to be contiguous to it. He has been since corrected by Gough, in his 'Sepulchral Antiquities ;' and as the very extensive work of the latter writer, is far less in circulation than that of the former, I have judged it advisable to extract from it a few passages, which appear to settle the point very satisfactorily, and which the reader will find in the note below.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup> " In a separate chapel at the east end of the Confessor's, at Westminster," says Gough, " is the monument of the glorious prince Henry V., who died Aug. 31, 1422, at the Castle of Bois de Vincennes, in France." . . . Speaking of the funeral, he says :



On the whole, I consider this figure of St. George as very good authority for the use of the *tuilles* before 1430 ; since, though the ornamented gates of the monument, as we have seen, were not put

“ The *figure of the King, in boiled leather, painted*, (‘ de cuyr bouilly painct moult gentillement,’) was laid on a bed covered with silk, crimson and gold, &c. . . . Service ended, (at St. Paul’s) the body was conveyed for interment to Westminster,” &c. Gough is of opinion that the effigy afterwards placed on his tomb, was copied from the above figure. Rymer (X. 255, from Pat. 1 Hen. VI. p. 1. m. 32. d.) has given us the warrant of Privy Council for the safe conduct of the funeral, &c. . . . Also an order . . . £12 to John Arderne, clerk for the works, for *thirty-six tuns of Caen stone* (doliatis petræ de Cane), by him purchased *to make the king’s tomb* in Westminster-abbey, and £23. 6. 8. more for making the tomb. . . .

“ The Will of this prince, made in the third year of his reign, is printed by Rymer (IX. 289.) . . . In it he leaves his body to be buried in Westminster Abbey, among his predecessors and the relics of Saints, and directs that over it be made a high place, to be ascended by steps at one end of the tomb, and descended in like manner at the other end, (volumus supra corpus nostrum fabricari locum excelsum per ascensum graduum in uno fine tumbæ nostræ, et per descensum graduum ex alio fine,) in which place the relics were to be placed, and an altar to be founded there,” (that is in this high place) “to be served by three monks of the said church, to say three masses daily. . . . He gives to the church of Westminster and the Altar of the Annunciation, over his tomb, (supra tumbum)” (doubtless the altar just mentioned) “plate and vestments,” &c.

“ The following record is preserved in Rymer, relative to *the iron grating, or rails* round this monument, which were not put up till nine years after his interment, and are probably the same now remaining there. The monument itself was ordered at the time of the funeral, as we have before seen . . . ‘ De factura circa tumulum nuper regis. Rex dilecto sibi Rogero Johnson de Londonia smyth salutem. Scias quod assignavimus te ad tot fabros, quot pro factura ferrei operis circa tumulum carissimi domini et patris nostri regis defuncti,’ &c. . . . Teste Humfrido duce Gloucestriæ custode Angliæ apud Westm. xxviii die Januarii (1431.)” . . .

[I think we may conclude that the whole monument, and the chapel over it were now finished ; though perhaps the relics and plate, with the costly effigy of the deceased king, may not have been deposited in their places till after the whole was secured by the grating.]

“ The whole monument was inclosed with iron grates and gates. The gates, under a handsome pointed arch in the west front, have their impost, or fascia, divided into thirteen compartments, painted alternately blue and red. On each blue space are placed three gilded fleurs de lis, and on each red space three gilded lions ; and below these on the centre of the gates have been fixed, alternately, a row of *swans* and *ante-*

up until 1431, the orders for making the monument had been given immediately after Henry's funeral; and, from the situation of that figure, it appears improbable that it would be left to the last. Nay,

*lopes*. . . . The chapel above is ascended to by two staircases, in towers of open arch-work, each having wooden doors. These staircases were probably one for ascent, the other for descent, according to the directions of the king's will, before cited; for it does not appear there was any stair at the other end of his tomb."

After describing various statues ornamenting these towers, &c., and speaking of the situation of the altar &c., he says, "The walls on the sides of this last step are finished with a cornice of *roses*; but the cornice over the altar and east end of the chapel is of a richer style, adorned with the same *devices of the swan* and *antelope*, both collared and chained, &c. . . . Over the cornice &c. . . ., and on either side of it are several niches, with the images, large as life, of *St. George and the dragon*; a *King*, probably the Confessor; a *female on her knees*, in profile; another *female sitting* in front, with her hands crossed, perhaps the Virgin; *another King*, probably Henry III; and *St. Denis*. Between these niches are interspersed lesser figures. This forms the east end of the chapel of the reliques over the tomb of Henry V., and the disposition of these figures has a manifest reference to the history of that prince, by introducing among other principal saints the two patrons of his respective kingdoms . . . . . In the centre of the ceiling under the chapel is a rich crown, surmounted by eight *antelopes* and four *swans*, &c. . . . .

"On the fascia, over the flying arches which connect this chapel with that of Henry VII., are represented the *coronation of a king*, on the north side, and of a *queen*, on the south, in square compartments, and at the sides of them nine and five, making in all fourteen, figures in niches, and six above the five; the cornice over the first nine and over the coronations, is charged with *swans* and *antelopes* alternately, that over the last six with *fleurs de lis*. The mouldings of the arches are also charged with devices of a *swan* and an *antelope*, as before described, *collared and chained to a tree, on the which is a flaming beacon, a crane holding a fish in his mouth, a hare crouching*, &c. &c.

"Mr. Dart," continues Gough, "was of opinion, that these bas-reliefs represented the coronation of Henry VII. and his queen. But as *the arms and devices* have a manifest reference to the time of Henry V., I cannot see any reason for this conjecture. . . . . It is evident by the words of the king's will that he directed a chapel to be built over his monument, &c. . . . . Sandford says he 'can find no example of the time to prove that Henry IV. bore his shield supported; but later ages have assigned him an *antelope* and a *swan*, probably deduced from the caparisons of his horse at the intended combat between him when Duke of Hereford, and Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, which were embroidered with *swans* and *antelopes* of goldsmith's work, as appeareth by his history.' What history," continues Gough, "is here referred to I do not know; certain it is, that *swans and antelopes* collared and chained are sprinkled



we may be sure that designs for the whole work were prepared before the execution of its details was begun ; and may reasonably conjecture that the models of the different statues and principal alti-relievi, with which it was to be decorated, were commenced so soon as the subjects they were to represent, and the places they were to occupy, had been determined upon by the architect.

*No. 3.* Is the effigy of William Phelip Lord Bardolf, taken from the monument of himself and his lady in Dennington Church, Suffolk. Gough informs us that,

“ In 1437 he founded a chantry at Dennington, for two priests to celebrate divine service at the altar of St. Margaret, in Dennington Church, for the good estate of himself and Joan his wife, as also for their souls after their departure hence, and likewise for the souls of King Henry IV. and King Henry V., and all the faithful deceased ; ” and that, “ by his testament, dated December 1, 1438, proved June 28, 1441, he . . . bequeathed his body to be buried with his ancestors, at Dennington aforesaid, before the altar, in the said Chapel of St. Margaret.” &c.

It is added that he made a codicil, dated July 8 next ensuing, and died within a year afterwards. Gough seems to date this monument An. 1438 ; but, from the silence of the will respecting it, and the

over the cornice above the altar in the chapel above the tomb of Henry V., and over the mouldings of the arch on each side thrown over the walk between this chapel and that of Henry VII. and connecting the two chapels. *These two animals are chained to a blazing beacon.* Two swans support the arms of Henry V. while Prince of Wales, 6 Henry IV. But I have not seen any supporters to his great seal. Those to the arms of his son Henry VI., on Eaton College gate, are *two Antelopes*.

“ Upon consulting Mr. Brooke on the subject, he returned me this answer : ‘ The supporters appropriated to Henry VI. by the heralds, are, on the dexter side, an *antelope*, on the sinister, a *swan* ; which last he assumed in right of his marriage, &c. . . . Henry V. bore a *beacon*, or, as my authority calls it, a *crescent light burning*, for one of his badges, &c. . . . I do not find that his successors bore this badge.’ . . . .

“ The foundation stone of Henry VII’s chapel was laid by Abbot Islip, Jan. 24, 1502--3. But it is evident that this (Henry V’s) chantry is distinct from the other, the arches having no connection with it ; and there is a considerable space from the steps of the latter chapel, over which is an ornamented ceiling that joins to the back of Henry V’s chantry chapel, which has an eastern wall independent of Henry VII’s chapel, and a window over the large figures of St. George,” &c.

early character of the armour, I think it likely that it may have been made some time before, and that the chantry may have been founded upon its being finished. It was no uncommon thing, in the fifteenth century, for persons of rank to cause their monuments to be made during their life-time; as, if a man did not do this, he could not be very sure that his monument would be made at all, or, if made, that it would be according to the instructions in his will.<sup>64</sup> I will only

<sup>64</sup> It is observed by a late writer, (Nic. H. Nicolas, Esq., ‘Testamenta Vetusta;’ in the Preface), that “the extreme and uniform care evinced (by people) to select the sovereign, or other personages . . . to superintend, or, as it was expressed, to act as supervisors of their testaments, in order that the power of the crown might not be used to prevent the fulfilment of their bequests, together with the solemn injunction to executors and supervisors, faithfully to do their duty, prove that the execution of wills was frequently impeded by the avarice of individuals, or the unlawful exercise of the royal influence.”

In the fine work of ‘Monumental Effigies’ by the late Mr. Stothard, we have, among others, the monument of John Fitz-Alan, Lord Maltravers, and Earl of Arundel, in the church at Arundel. The identity of the person represented appears certain; as the arms on the surcoat are those of Arundel, quartering Maltravers. This nobleman was born in 1407, and was killed in battle in France, May 12, 1434: his body was not brought over to England, as was sometimes done with the bodies of persons of distinction, but was buried in the monastery of the Grey Friars, at Beauvais. By his will, made some time previously, he had directed that he should be buried in the collegiate church of Arundel, founded by his ancestors: cenotaphs were not common in those days; and it is probable that, with this intention, he had caused his monument to be prepared during his life time.

In the will of Walter Lord of Hungerford, dated July 27th, 1449, (and who died the 9th of August following), he says, “My body to be buried in the cathedral church of Salisbury, in the chapel . . . built to the honour of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, at my costs, in which chapel I have founded a perpetual chantry for two chaplains, and wherein Katherine, my wife, is buried,” &c.; but nothing is said of his monument, which bears the effigies of himself and his lady, and had probably been made upon the occasion of her death. The will of John Lord Scrope, of Upsal, dated July 29, 1451 (and who died November 15, 1455), says, “My body to be buried in a new tomb made for me and Elizabeth my wife, in the chapel of St. Stephen, commonly called Scrope’s Chapel, within the cathedral church of St. Peter, at York; I desire that at my funeral my corpse be carried by my sons and servants, &c. . . ; also I will that *my corpse*, thus brought into that chapel, be *laid upon that tomb*,” &c. It is clear that this tomb was made before the date of his will, and it probably had



add, concerning the armour in the effigy of Lord Bardolf, that the *tuilles* are of a different form from all that I remember to have seen in later monuments ; resembling those in the brass figure of Sir Brian Stapleton, presently to be noticed, more than any others.

No. 4. Exhibits the upper part of the monumental effigy of Sir Edmund de Thorpe, of about 1420, at Ashwelthorpe Church, Norfolk ; the whole of which figure will be found accurately drawn, in two points of view, in Mr. Stothard's fine work of 'Monumental Effigies.'

effigies upon it engraved on brass plates. The will of Geoffrey Poole, Esq. of Wythune, in the parish of Medmenham, in the county of Bucks, dated October 12, 1474, says, "My body to be buried in the church of the monastery of Birsham, in that county, in *the same tomb with Editha my wife,*" &c.; and that of John Newburgh, senior, Esq., dated March 29, 1485, and which was proved April 9, 1489, says, "My body to be buried in the conventual church of Byndon, in a *certain marble tomb there built by me* in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, at the feet of my father."

To the above memoranda, taken from the work of Mr. Nicolas, I may add, from Gough, that the monument of Sir Simon Felbrigg and his lady Margaret, engraved in brass, at Felbrigg church, Norfolk, and bearing date 1413, is believed to have been executed upon the death of the latter, in that year, by order of the husband, and that Sir Simon lived till 1444. Also that the costly monument of Margaret Holland and her two husbands, in Canterbury Cathedral, was erected by the lady, who died in 1440, during her life-time.

Cotman, in his work entitled 'the brasses of Norfolk,' speaking of the monument of Sir Thomas Grey and his lady, which a previous county-historian had dated in 1492, says, "I am at a loss to reconcile the above date with the dresses of the figures exhibited in this plate;" (and in fact the dress of the lady is almost exactly like that of Lady Felthorp, in 1454), "they evidently point to at least thirty years earlier; but Blomefield says his will was dated 1492; perhaps, like the monument of Sir Simon Felbrigg, it was placed by himself long before his death," &c.

And to descend to somewhat later times, I find it stated by Collins, in his Peerage, of Elizabeth Hardwick Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury, that "departing this life in the eighty-seventh year of her age, on Friday, 13 February 1607, she was buried in the south isle of All-Hallows Church, in Derby, under a stately monument, which she took care to erect in her own life-time," &c. I shall close this list by mentioning, upon the authority of Sir Saml. Meyrick, that "Col. Jas. Kyrle Money, of Hom House in the parish of Great Marcle, Herefordshire, is in possession of documents to prove that the exquisitely sculptured monumental effigies of Sir John Kyrle and his lady, who died in the reign of Charles the First, were made in Italy and placed in Great Marcle church during their life-time."

No. 5. Presents another specimen of the same character, from a monument, dated 1426, in Lowick Church, Northamptonshire, said to be that of one of the Grene family. This last, which is taken from a sketch in the possession of Sir Samuel Meyrick (who thinks it one of the latest examples of the kind), shews how the cuirass was often made at this time, by parallel hoops of steel, ranged close to one another, and perhaps sometimes lapping the one over the other, like the *taces*. It was so generally the custom at this period, and for several years afterwards, to wear the emblazoned '*cote-d'armes*' over the body-armour, in front, that the construction of the breast-plate, especially in our monumental brasses, which always represent the figure in a front view, can in many cases be only guessed at; and frequently the whole of the body armour, before and behind, was covered by a tightly laced vestment, which was probably of a strong texture, and served among its other uses, to keep all the plates underneath in their proper places. On the whole, this last specimen is very interesting, and, Sir S. Meyrick somewhere observes, is explanatory of a passage in Monstrelet, where, speaking of an encounter between some French and English troops, before the battle of Agincourt, he mentions that "a valiant man at arms of the French forces, named Lancelot Pierres, was pierced between the plates of his armour, and mortally wounded in the belly."

These two figures shew also, in a very clear manner, how the *hausse-col*, or neck-covering of plate, was at this time worn over the *camail*, the lower extremities of which are seen on the breast and shoulders of both, coming from under it.

They both also, as well as the effigy of Lord Bardolf (No. 3.), afford fine specimens of the *circlet*, which was worn over the bascinet. These circlets were sometimes of great value, and were worn in battle. Sandford, in his '*Genealogical History of the Kings of England*,' (p. 302), thus describes the death of Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, who was killed A. D. 1420-21, at the battle of Bougy:—

"As he was remounting," says he, "one John Swinton, a Scot, wounded him in the face with his lance, and threw him to the ground, being the first



Englishman that was there slain ; having that day upon his helmet *a circlet enriched with precious stones* ; which, being taken from his crest by a Scot, was sold to John Stewart of Derby, for 1,000 angels."

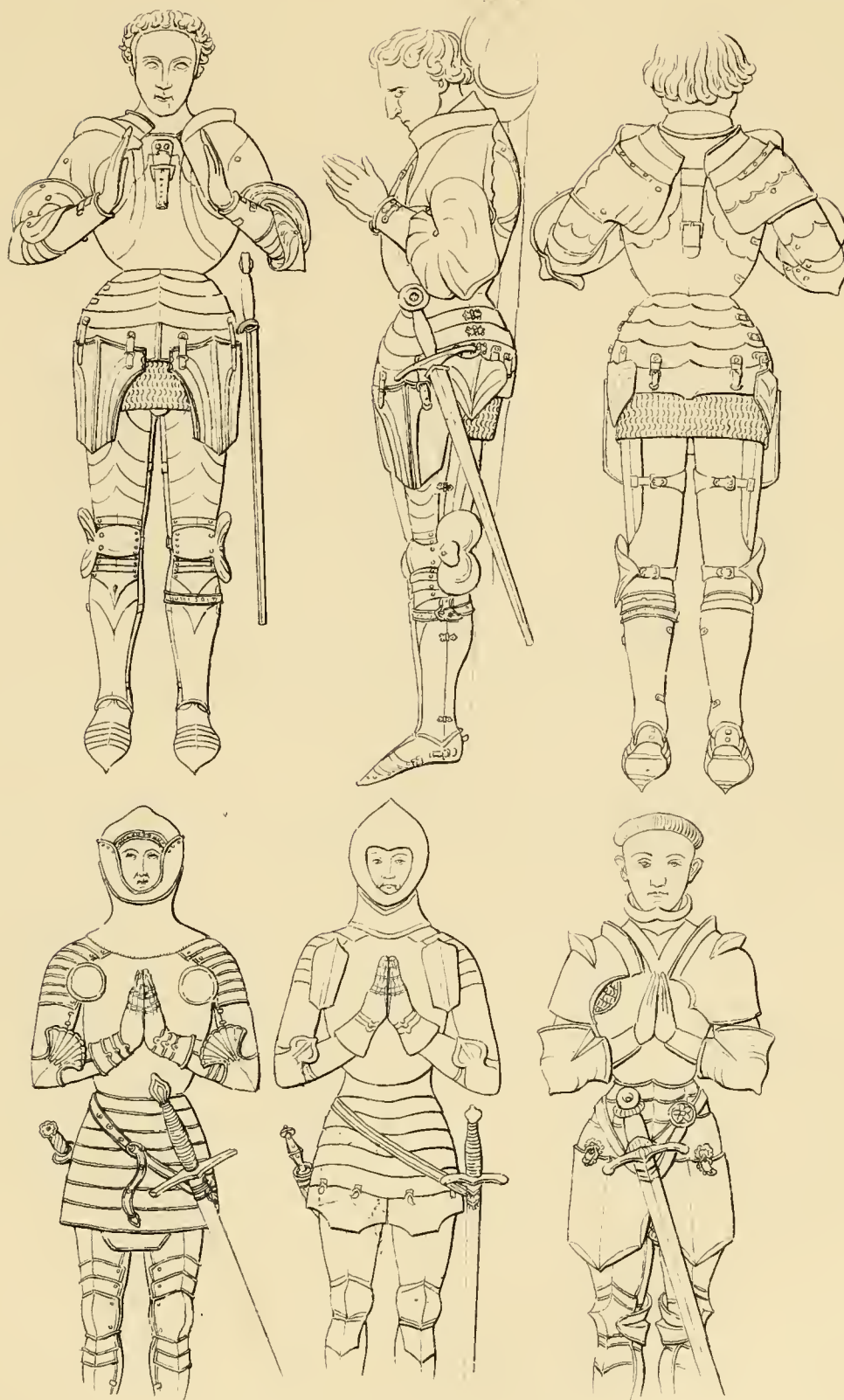
No. 6. Is taken from Gough, and exhibits part of the figure of John Duke of Somerset, who died in 1444, from the fine monument of himself and consort, in Wimborne Minster. I had originally introduced it here, solely on account of the *tuilles*. But it is on other accounts well worthy of remark. From the employment of the hands, unlike what is usual in our monumental effigies, the upper part of the breast is uncovered ; and the pointed top of the lower breast-plate is seen reaching up to the *hausse-col*, or neck-armour, and being in part covered by it : and so it is in most cases in the splendid manuscript, written and illuminated at this time, in France, for the wife of Henry VI., and from which specimens are given in Plate 28. These, and other examples hereafter to be noticed, are not a little confirmatory of the general truth of Dr. Meyrick's remark, as to the rare use of the *strap* and *buckle* in fastening the lower to the upper breast-plate, after the year 1440.

Plate 21. No. 1, represents, in three views, the bronze figure of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, who died An. 1439, from his monument in the chapel adjoining the church of St. Mary, at Warwick. Dr. Meyrick, as we have seen, strongly insists that this figure must have been cast from a suit of the Earl's own armour ; and his argument, in proof that such was the case, appears to me to be a very good one.

The will of this nobleman is given at length by Hearne, in one of his volumes, after the life of Richard II., according to a copy procured by him from a Mr. Thomas Ward, of Warwick. It will be seen in the extracts from it inserted below,<sup>65</sup> that the Earl was extremely

<sup>65</sup> Extracts from the Will of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick ;  
dated 8th August, Anno Domini 1437 :—

" This is the last Will, &c. of me R' Beaucham the Earl of Warwick, &c. .... renewed and made by me at Camersham the eighth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord God 1437, and of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Sixth after the Conquest the 15th.







anxious upon all points touching his own person and interests. From the concise manner in which he speaks of the chapel which he desired to be built, and of his monument, and of the place being *well known*, we may, I think, reasonably conclude that he had previously delivered detailed directions concerning them, to his intended executors. This celebrated nobleman died at the castle of Roan, in France, on the 31st of April, 1439 (17 Henry VI.), in the 58th year of his age; and his body was brought, with every mark of respect, to England.

“ First, I will, that when it liketh to God, that my Soule depart out of this world, my body be enterred within the Church Collegiate of our Lady in Warrwick, where I will, that in such place as I have devised (*which is known well*), there be made a Chappell of our Lady, well, faire, and goodly built, within the *middle of which Chappel I will, that my Tombe be made*; and in the *mean time my body to be laide in a clean chest* afore the Altar, that is on the right hand of my Lord my Father’s Tombes, *till the time that the said Chappell and Tombe for me be made*, and then my body to be taken up, (and) laid therein. . . .

. . . . .  
“ Allsoe I will, that, in the name of Heryott to our Lady, there be given to the Church of our Lady in Warrwick *myne Image of Gold and of our Lady*, there to abide for ever more. . . .

. . . . .  
“ Also I will, that there be made a goodly *Tombe of marble on my Wife’s grave*, that is dead, in the Abbey of Kingswoode.

. . . . .  
“ Also I will, that my son Harry have the *Cup of Golde with the Daunce of Men and Women*, &c. . . . .

“ Also I will, that my foresaid Executors of my last Will, ordayne *four images of gold*, everich of them of the weight of twenty pounds of gold, to be *made after my similitude or figure, with myn armes, holding an ancre between his hands so figured*, and then to be offered and delivered in my name, that is to say, one of them att the Shrine in the Church of St. Albion, to the worship of God, of our Lady and of St. Albion; another of them in likewise at the Shrine of the Cathedrall Church in Canterbury; the third of them in like forme at Bridlington; and the fourth of them at the Shrine in the Church of St. Wenefride in Shrewsbury.

“ Also for the forme and order of the execution of my said Will, I will and ordayne, that every artickle thereof, that *toucheth me next, that is to say, myne owne person, my soule, and payment of my debts, be first executed before all other*: and if any person of my body begotten or of my blood, or any other person named in this my



The particular urgency expressed by the Earl for the fulfilment of all those parts of his will that relate to his own person and spiritual welfare, leads me to suppose that no time was lost in presenting the four golden images to the churches of St. Albans, Canterbury, Bridlington and Shrewsbury. Now these were to be made after his similitude, with his armes (or, in his armour), and he was to be represented in each of them, holding an anchor between his hands: he is, or was so represented in his monument (for the anchor is now wanting); and I think we may reasonably conjecture, from this circumstance, that, although, in consequence of the chapel where it was to be placed not being ready, the monument was not executed until ten years afterwards, it gives *the same representation* of the deceased Earl as did the smaller golden figures, and in similar armour.

The situation where the chapel was to be built was well known to his executors, and is therefore not particularly described in the will: and, as I have said, they were no doubt fully informed of the testator's other intentions respecting it, and of the sum he meant to be expended upon it. This chapel, it appears, was not begun till 1443; the intermediate time between that date and the Earl's death, having been doubtless employed in collecting and preparing the necessary materials. It is said to have been finished in 1464, but was not consecrated till 1475. I have given some further interesting particulars

Will, do hereafter hinder or abridge the execution of my said Will, or of any parcell thereof, in anywise, I will and ordeyne, that they take not avayle thereof or advantage of my said Will, nor of my seid ordeynances, but that all such persons be utterly excluded of all manner, prooffe and advantage thereof, &c. . . . . Always preseen, if my goods and cattayle (chattels) suffice not, or may not be had for letting (hinder) of any person, to satisfie my debts and performe my Will, that *onelych and singnélick toucheth mie owne person, my soule and conscience*, that then it be lawfull to the said executors of my last Will, to sell such land as they have to my use, and that *they execute my Will of such articles, as toucheth me only*, in forme before rehearsed, as the(y) think best in their discretion, any other ordeynance or will before declared notwithstanding."

. . . . .

Will proved "apud Mortlake, xxvi die Octobris, Anno Domini 1439," &c. &c.

concerning this monument, in the note below, taken from the valuable work of Gough.<sup>66</sup>

No. 2. By some mishap, I have mislaid my memoranda of the

<sup>66</sup> "In the centre of this chapel," says Gough, "is the monument of the noble founder; an altar-tomb of grey marble, set round with figures of copper gilt, and their arms enamelled on shields in starred quartrefoils below. On the slab lies his figure of brass gilt, large as life," &c. "Sir William Dugdale, in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, has printed the agreement between the Earl's executors and the several artists employed in making it, and erecting the chapel, bearing date June 13, 32 Hen. VI.

"John Essex marbler, William Austen founder, and Thomas Stevyns coppersmith (June 13, 32 Henry VI.), do covenant . . . . . that they shall make, forge, and worke, in most finest wise, and of the finest latten," (for so the metal was called) "one large plate, to be dressed, and to lay on the overmost stone of the tombe, *under the image that shall lie on the same tomb*, and two narrow plates to go round about the stone. Also, they shall make in like wise and like latten, an hearse to be dressed and set upon the said stone over the image, to bear a covering to be ordeyned," &c. . . . . and this is to be made "*after an hearse of timber, which the executors shall make for a pattern, &c.* . . . . .

"Will. Austen, citizen and founder of London, xiv Martii, 30 Henry VI., covenanteth, &c. to cast, work, and perfectly to make, of the finest latten to be gilded that may be found, xiv images embossed of lords and ladyes in divers vestures called *weepers*, (i. e. mourners) to stand in housings made about the tomb, those images to be made in breadth, length, and thickness, &c. to xiv *patterns made of timber*. Also he shall make xviii lesse images of angels, to stand in other housings, *as shall be appointed by patterns*, whereof ix after one side and ix after another: also, he must make an herse to stand on the tomb, above and about the principal figure that shall lie on the tomb, *according to a pattern, &c.*

"The said William Austen, xi Feb. 28 Hen. VI., doth covenant to cast and make an image of a man, armed, of fine latten, garnished with certain ornaments, viz. with sword and dagger, with a garter; with a helme and crest under his head, and at his feet a bear musled and a griffin, perfectly made of the finest latten, *according to patterns*," &c. . . . I agree with Dr. Meyrick, that *no pattern* is here intended to be referred to, as respects the principal figure, and that the *patterns* spoken of relate only to the helme and crest to be placed under the head, and the bear and griffin.

The more delicate finishing, however, of the figures and other ornaments, was entrusted in great part to a different artist.

"Bartholomew Lambespring, Dutchman, and goldsmith of London, 23 Maii, 27 Hen. VI., covenanteth to repair, whone, and pullish, (that is, to clean off all roughnesses and other imperfections left by the casting) and to make perfect to the gilding, *an image of latten of a man armed that is in making*," &c. It seems strange, at first sight, that this agreement should be dated earlier than that in which Austen undertook to



person whom this effigy, a brass-plate, is intended to represent, and the church where it exists. The figure was selected because of the singular flap, which it has in front, at the bottom of the taces.

cast the figure. I conclude that Austen was a mere caster of metal; and that, before he was applied to to do his part, it had been necessary to employ a superior artist to model the head and hands of the figure, and also to prepare an artificial trunk, sufficiently in the human form to admit of the Earl's armour being fixed upon it, with all its pieces in their proper places: for I agree with Dr. Meyrick, that, had this figure been cast, like the other parts of the monument, from *patterns* carved in wood, the back part, not intended to be seen, would not have been finished in all its details as we find it to be. Perhaps this Bartholomew was employed in this preparatory model, as well as in finishing the brass figure after it was cast; as he afterwards was 'to make the visages and hands' of the smaller figures.

"The said Bartholomew and Will. Austen, xii Martii, 31 Hen. VI., do covenant to pullish and repair xxxii images of latten, lately made by the said Will. Austen for the tombe, viz. xviii images of angels, and xiv images of mourners, ready to the gilding, &c.

"The said Bartholomew, 6 Julii, 30 Hen. VI., doth covenant to make xiv scutcheons of the finest latten, &c. . . .

"The said Bartholomew, xx Julii, 30 Hen. VI. doth covenant, &c., to gild, pulish, and burnish xxxii images, whereof xiv mourners and xviii angells, to be set about the tombe, and *to make the visages and hands*, and all the *bases of all the said images*, in most *quick and fair wise*, (i. e. to make and finish all the *naked parts of the figures* as much *like life*, as possible), and to save the gold as much as may be from and without spoiling," &c.

"The said Bartholomew, iiii Martii, 32 Hen. VI., doth covenant to make clean to *gild, burnish*, and *pullish* the great image of latten, which shall lie upon a tombe, with the helme and crest," &c. So that nearly five years elapsed between the time when Bartholomew first undertook "*to repair whone and pullish this figure*, which was even *then in making*," after it should be cast, and the present agreement to *gild* it: and it appears from the following, that two years more passed over, before the marbler was applied to, to make the tomb itself.

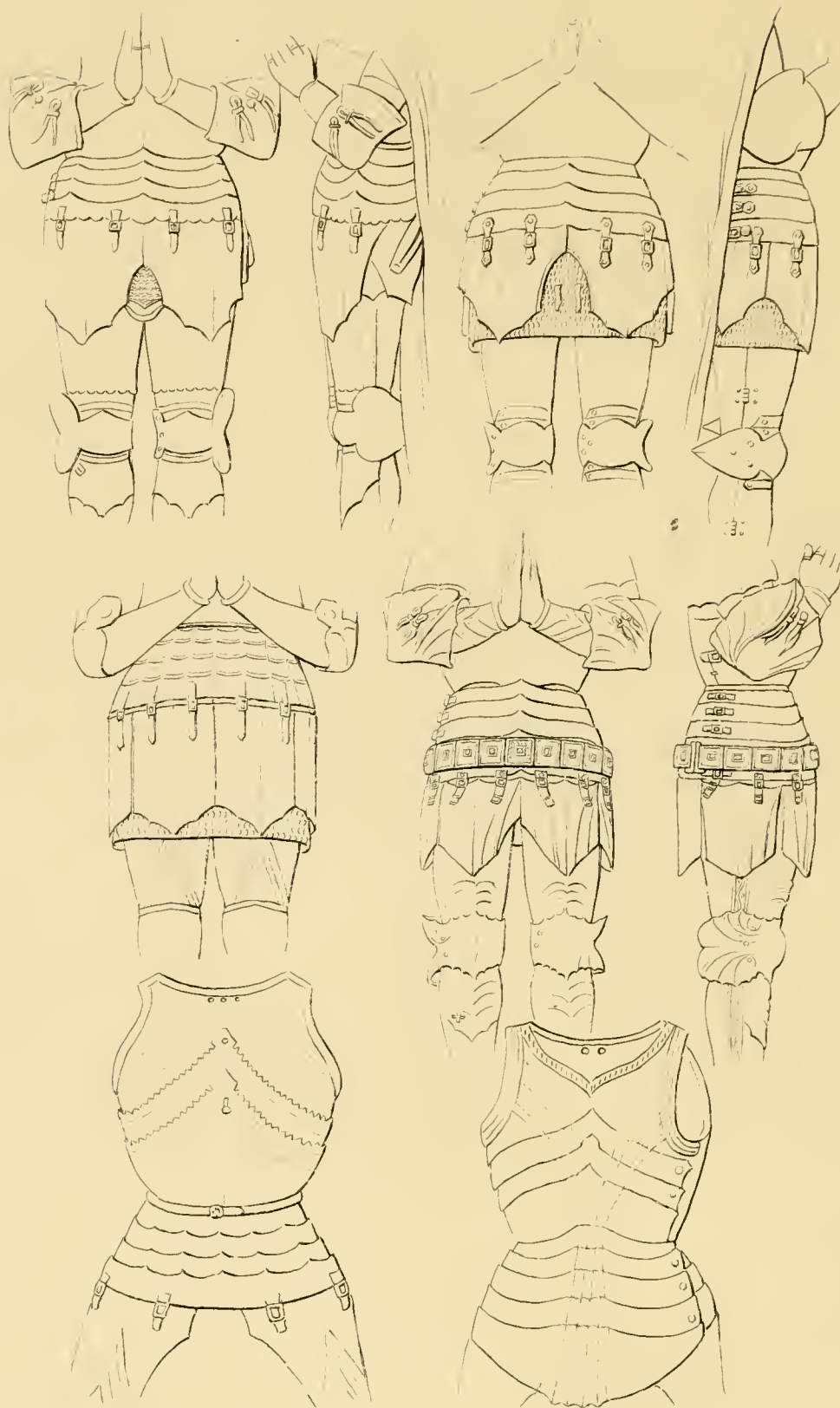
"John Bourde of Corff-castle, in the county of Dorset, marbler, 16 Maii, 35 Hen. VI. doth covenant to *make a tombe of marble*, to be set on the said earle's grave; the said tombe to be made well, cleane, and sufficiently, of a good and fine marble, as well coloured as may be had in England, &c. . . . and to do all the work and workmanship about the same tombe to the entail, *according to a portraicture* delivered him," &c. . . .

I shall not attempt, further than I have done, to account for the irregular manner in which the above dates follow each other; nor need I repeat what I have said, in speaking of Plate 12, of the very great resemblance of the armour of this figure to that of the figure of Abraham therein represented.





## Costume — Sepulchral Monuments



*No. 3.* Is taken from the monumental brass of Sir Brian Stapleton, (who died 1432), at Ingham Church, Norfolk. The *tuilles*, as they are represented in some prints that I have seen of this figure, are not divided in the middle; the line of separation having been inadvertently omitted by the artists who drew and engraved them: for in an impression from the original brass, in the British Museum, this line is very distinctly perceptible. Indeed, the want of this separation of the *tuilles*, had it existed, must have effectually prevented them from moving up and down, according to the motion of the thighs, as was intended.

It is true, that in Plate 27, the reader will find a kneeling figure, having *tuilles*, apparently both of one piece, copied from a manuscript of about 1440, as I conjecture, in the British Museum; but, this I conceive to have been an error of the illuminator, to whom the proper adaptation of these newly invented pieces of armour may not yet have become familiar.

*No. 4.* This represents the chief part of the monumental effigy, on brass, of Sir Thomas Sherbourne, (who died in 1458), in Sherbourn Church, Norfolk. The *tuilles*, the *pauldrons*, and the pieces covering the elbows, are very large; and, on the whole, this figure is a fine specimen of the heavy armour of the period. The reader will, I think, agree with me, that it bears far less resemblance to the armour in the Speculum, than does the older suit of the Earl of Warwick.

It may be worth mentioning, that, in the late Rev. Mr. Kerrich's collections concerning armour, before noticed, in the British Museum, (No. 6728, fol. 210), I find a repetition of this brass effigy, except that the head, instead of being uncovered, has a *helmet*, with the *hausse-col*. This monument, which is inscribed, 'Georgius Laugham Armiger: Ob. xiii die Septembr. A.D. 1462,' is in Little Chesterfield Church, Cambridgeshire. We learn from it, that the manufacturers of these brass effigies, were accustomed to keep patterns by them, which, when a monument was wanted, they could readily alter, in this or that particular, to suit the taste of their employer.

*Plate 22.* The specimens, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, in this plate, are



chiefly intended to shew the forms of the *tuilles*, as they appear in some of our most finished monuments of the last half of the fifteenth century. No. 1, is from the monument of Sir John Crosbie and Lady, the former of whom died in 1475; No. 2, is from that of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and his Consort, Anno 1491; No. 3, shews part of the effigy of Robert Lord Hungerford, who died in 1455; and No. 4, is from that of John Talbot, the great Earl of Shrewsbury, who was killed in battle, A.D. 1453, in France; though the monument, in Dr. Meyrick's opinion, shews, by the broad round toes, the style of the hair, and other circumstances, that it could not have been sculptured until the very end of the century.

I may here observe of the effigy of Lord Hungerford, which exists in Salisbury Cathedral, that the end of the feet are broken; and that Dr. Meyrick, in speaking of this figure, Vol. II., p. 153, of his 'Treatise on Armour,' remarks thus:

"The *solerets*, (or feet covering), at first sight, appear to have been square; but on closer inspection, the *pointed toes* may be observed on the back of the dog which is placed at his feet."

Fine engravings of the above four monuments will be found in the before-mentioned admirable work of the late Mr. Stothard, Jun.

No. 5. I have here given two views of the beautiful steel *cuirass*, so particularly spoken of by Dr. Meyrick, in the dissertation he so kindly favoured me with, and which, with his permission, I at that time sketched from the original armour, then at his house in Cadogan Place. He has since had the good fortune to become possessed of the remainder of the suit, and the whole now graces the extensive collection of armour at his country residence, Goodrich Court.

Mr. Skelton, in one of his plates of that collection, has given outlines of the entire suit, assigning to it the date of 1445. Nor am I disposed to offer any particular objection against the supposition, that it may have been made about that time, or from that to 1450; however, in a former page, I may have found myself called upon to remark upon a passage in Dr. Meyrick's dissertation, concerning this same





Costume. — Dutch M<sup>s</sup>c. 1390. — W. C. Otley



*cuirass*, which he there dates before the year 1440, and appears to consider as affording sufficient proof that, even at that early period, the new method of forming the *cuirass* with three or four pieces for the breast, instead of two, and as many for the back-covering, was already commonly adopted.

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#### SPECIMENS OF COSTUME, FROM ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS.

*Plate 23.* The manuscript from which specimens of costume are here given, is a small but thick book of prayers, very neatly written, in black-letter characters much resembling those of the *Speculum*, and in the Dutch language. It has numerous illuminations, in which the figures, after being carefully drawn with a pen, are finished with transparent colours, only; save here and there a little white or vermillion. But they are also ornamented in the glories of the sacred personages, the borders of garments, &c., and in some of the backgrounds, with burnished gilding; and here and there the artist has also touched particular objects with silver, where that metal appeared to him more appropriate, as the sickle of a reaper; the blade of a sword; a flaggon, a plate, or a knife on a table; the pieces of money paid to the traitor, Judas, &c.

The general character of the armour, the *bascinet* with a *pointed visor filled with holes*, the constant use of the *camail* and the *petticoat of mail*, and the total absence of the *taces*; these, and a few peculiarities in the other dresses of the figures, lead me to conclude that this manuscript cannot be later than our Henry IVth's reign, and, indeed, I think it more likely to be as early as that of Richard II. The proof that it is Dutch, and not Flemish, might, it is probable, be shewn from the orthography, and the dialect in which it is written, were the learned Mr. Willems here to examine it. A Dutch gentleman, to whom I have shewn it, has no doubts on the matter.

But, the costume of some of the female figures, proves decidedly



that it is so. The lady, for whom the book was prepared, (and whose head is represented on the right of the plate, at top,) wears that singular plate, at the back of her head, which has been used, I understand, from time immemorial, in Friesland and Holland, and I believe no where else in Europe, and of which the broad, circular, extremities, projecting forwards, shew themselves so distinctly on either side, over her ear; and the same remarkable head-dress is no less than seven times repeated, in other parts of the volume, in the figures of attendant females. The other female head-dress, in which the hair appears to be elevated in some degree on either side, may be considered as a very early specimen of the mitred head-dress, or of something approaching to it; though of this I have occasionally found examples in French and other manuscripts, which are probably of equal antiquity.

In my remarks on the figures of the *Speculum*, I have sufficiently noticed certain particulars in the armour, in which the illuminations in this manuscript correspond in a very remarkable manner with the cuts of that work; especially, the *large round, bossed shield*, the *large circular oreillettes*, and the *pieces* protecting the *shin*, in some of the figures, made, no doubt, of *cuir-bouillie*, stamped, or modelled, in the form of large leaves.

It is from this manuscript that the graceful design of 'the Annunciation' is taken, which we have given in Plate 3, in juxta-position with Lord Spencer's wood-engraving of the same subject, of the year 1423. This MS., which was once Mr. Douce's, is in my own collection.

*Plate 24.* The specimens here given, are taken from a manuscript in folio, in the collection of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, containing the first part of a translation of the Holy Scriptures, in the Dutch language. This translation was, I understand, originally made in the fourteenth century. The copy, I suppose to have been written and illuminated about the year 1420. The Royal Library at the Hague contains a complete copy of the work, apparently of the same time, in two large volumes; wherein several of the figures in the illuminations so nearly resemble some of those in the Duke of Sussex's











Costume  
in Dord. Mus. 1420. Pl. Le. Hagen. 2 B. Dord. Mus. 1420.



manuscript, as to lead me to be of opinion, that the same master-caligraphist and the same artists were employed, at this time, to prepare several copies of the said translation.

It was in this manuscript that I first had the satisfaction of finding authorities for the *square breast-plate*, which occurs so frequently in the 'Biblia Pauperum,' the 'Speculum,' and the 'Book of Canticles'; and I afterwards discovered numerous other examples of it, in the duplicate copy at the Hague. Various parts of the attire of the armed figures, are very unlike what we commonly see in illuminations in general, done at this time. I have mentioned a few particulars, in speaking of the cuts of the Speculum; to which I wish here to add, that the pieces in the form of leaves, covering the shins of one of the figures, are represented in the original miniature of the colour of tanned leather, whence I conclude that the appearance of the *cuir-bouillie*, anciently so much used in armour, was intended.

*Plate 25. No. 1.* Contains specimens from the Dutch manuscript Bible at the Hague, above mentioned. I need not offer any remarks upon the armour, in addition to what has been said by me in treating of the cuts of the Speculum. It will be observed that two of the female figures are in the same attitudes as those in one of the illuminations of the Duke of Sussex's manuscript, though here they are drawn with a more easy flow of outline.

*No. 2.* The specimens of armour, and other costume, here given, are from the celebrated Bedford Missal, and were carefully drawn by me, in the summer of 1829, from the original manuscript, to which the then proprietor obligingly permitted me to have access during several mornings. The reader has already been informed, that this splendid volume was presented by the Duchess of Bedford to Henry VI., in the year 1430. From the elaborate finishing employed upon the borders and other miniatures, throughout the book, there can be no doubt that several years were spent upon it; and, indeed, it has been ingeniously conjectured by my friend Mr. Nicol, the printer of this volume, that it may originally have been intended for a personage



of the French Court, probably the Queen, and perhaps have been put in hand antecedently to the Battle of Agincourt.

Upon comparing the figure of Henry V., as here given, with the outline, upon the minute scale of the original, in Gough, it will be perceived that his artist has committed certain small inaccuracies in the details of the armour. The foot-soldier with the halberd, on the right, is among the decorations of page 5 of the Calender : I drew it on account of the singular flap which he has in front, attached to the bottom of the *taces*.

This manuscript did not furnish me with so much information on the construction of armour generally, at this period, as might have been anticipated from the great number of its illuminations. I find that I noted, upon examining it, that there are very few instances in which the armed men have not surcoats, reaching almost to the knees ; and that therefore it became impossible for me to determine, whether or not the *tuilles* on both thighs were known to the artist who painted them ; though I thought it probable that they were.

*Plate 26.* The figures herein contained, are all taken from manuscripts of Lydgate, in the British Museum. The large figure below, represents Thomas Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and is copied from a drawing in the *Harl. MS.* No. 4826. The drawing (which does not appear to have originally belonged to this manuscript), is done in a very masterly manner upon parchment, with pen and bistre, and a little wash ; and is pasted opposite an account of Lydgate, written at a comparatively recent date, on paper ; the manuscript itself being a large quarto, or small folio, on parchment. It represents an old man in a Pilgrim's habit, kneeling, and presenting a book to the above nobleman ; Lydgate, himself, who appears as a monk of about the age of forty, standing by. Over the drawing, on the paper whereon it is pasted, is written : " Lidgat presenting his book, called y<sup>e</sup> Pilgrime, unto y<sup>e</sup> Earl of Salisbury." I have little or no doubt that this drawing was originally prefixed as a frontispiece to the manuscript of 'the Pilgrim,' Tib. A. VII. in the Cottonian Collection ; which manuscript





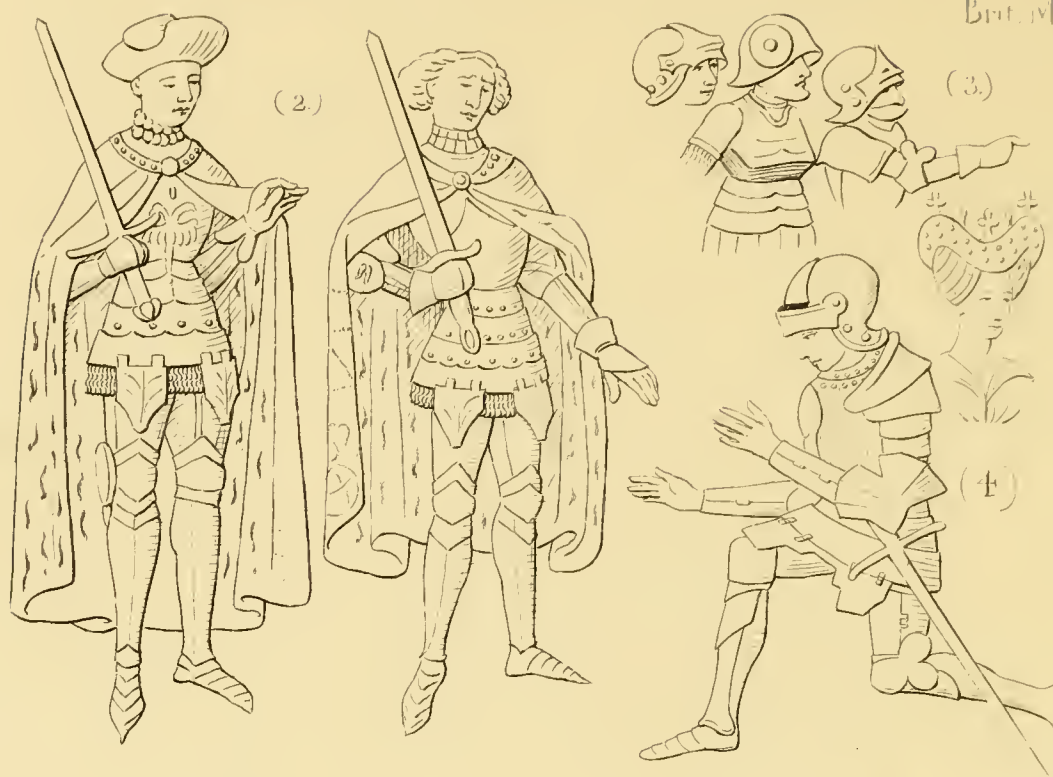






Costume

(1) Dutch MS. 1435. (2) Dutch 1449. (3) Dutch 1450? (4) Hague 1440? (5) Brit. Mus. 1440?



is full of drawings, less carefully executed than the above, but still very masterly, and I believe by the same hand. The above Earl of Salisbury was killed at the siege of Orleans, in November, 1428. Warton, in his 'History of English Poetry,' vol. 2, p. 55, (*note*,) states that this manuscript was written in 1426.

The kneeling figure on the right, the group of two lovers above it, intended to denote "worldely gladnesse," and the female with her arms elevated, at the top of the plate, representing "Wyllefful Poverté," are all from this same manuscript of "the Pilgrim." Poverty says of herself:

"And the world I have fforsake,  
Rychesse and alle pocessoun,  
Save ounly this Gambysoun  
Whiche is callyd Patyence," &c.

The group on the left, at bottom, to which I have particularly referred, in speaking of a figure from the *Speculum*, copied in Plate 16, and two of the female head-dresses over it, namely, the third and fourth, counting from the left, are from Lydgate's 'Boccace,' (*Harl. Coll. No. 1766*), a manuscript profusely decorated with illuminations, and which Warton supposes to have been written for Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; and the four heavily armed figures in the upper part of the plate, are from a very richly ornamented manuscript of the 'Life of St. Edmond,' by Lydgate, (*Harl. Coll. No. 2278*), which was prepared expressly as a present to King Henry VI., upon the occasion of his visiting the convent of Bury St. Edmonds, in the Christmas of 1433.

*Plate 27. No. 1.* The various specimens of costume given under this number, were drawn by me in 1829, in the Royal Library at the Hague, after the miniatures of a book of prayers, written in the genuine black-letter character, in the Dutch language; but the volume, as I was informed, did not appertain to the royal collection, but was the private property of the principal librarian, the Abbé Flamand. That respectable gentleman I learn is lately dead; and I would express



the hope, that if he did not bequeath it to the collection, it may have been since purchased for it.

The manuscript was executed for a family of Utrecht, doubtless either the gentleman, whose kneeling figure is copied at the bottom of the plate, or his lady, who in the manuscript is represented kneeling opposite to him, and holding a book with both her hands. That it was finished in 1439, appears certain from a diagram at the beginning, containing a calculation for finding the moveable feasts, &c. beginning from ‘*this present year 1435* ;’ this I was assured by several gentlemen whom I requested to examine it for me, being myself unacquainted with the Dutch language.

The illuminations are some of the best of that time I have seen ; highly finished, and yet every where evincing the hand of a master. It is remarkable that, except in the kneeling figure of the gentleman above mentioned, I nowhere found the *tuilles* ; but then—as I have observed of the Bedford Missal—the artist, in order to attain a greater variety of colouring, has in most cases avoided the introduction of plain steel armour, dressing his figures in armour of other kinds, and with surcoats often reaching almost to their knees. The breast-plate of this gentleman is also remarkable, being apparently made of one piece ; and, indeed, if the same may not be said of two other smaller figures of knights, tilting, who are also dressed in plain steel armour, but without the *tuilles* ; the lower breast-plates of both of them very nearly cover the whole of the thorax, a considerable portion of their upper extremities being hidden under the *hausse-col*. It will be seen that both the figure of the gentleman kneeling, and the one on horse-back, have somewhat long-pointed toes. I find that I have observed of a very beautiful miniature in this book, of Christ’s condemnation, and Pilate washing his hands, that Pilate has scarlet shoes with very long pointed toes. This fashion was therefore occasionally used even at this early period ; and perhaps, indeed, it was never entirely disused from the date of its first introduction, in the fourteenth century, to the time of our Henry VII. Having often referred to the specimens







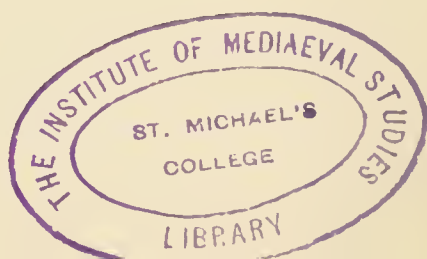
here given, in speaking of the cuts of the Speculum, I shall here only add, or perhaps repeat, that the illuminations in this manuscript furnish ample proof, that both the *tower head-dress*, and the *horned head-dress*, were at this time worn by ladies in Holland.

*No. 2.* I have in a former page (192) mentioned a manuscript in large folio, preserved in the archives at the Hague, entitled ‘Repertorium de Remissorium,’ &c., which was begun in the year 1433 and finished in 1449. It contains two illuminations, not remarkable for their excellence, which I suppose to have been added at last. These two figures, representing the Emperor and Philip le Bon, are from one of them. It may be observed that the upper extremity of the lower breast-plate of the latter figure, is distinctly represented, and that it is not fastened to the upper breast-plate by a strap and buckle. These two figures were exactly traced from the originals.

*No. 3.* These three heads are from a magnificent book of offices in square folio, done for Philip le Bon, and which is decorated with numerous miniatures beautifully executed in chiaro-scuro, in distemper, in the same manner (and perhaps by the same artists) as a manuscript, hereafter to be noticed, late in the collection of Mr. Douce. The book, from its extent, and the number of its decorations, must have been some years in hand, and was probably finished about 1450. It contains comparatively few representations with armed figures. The *salade* as here drawn, is the common helmet throughout the book; I found no instance of the pointed helmet, or of the *camail*. This fine manuscript is in the royal collection at the Hague.

*No. 4.* The figure of the knight kneeling, and the head of the princess with the horned head-dress, are from a French manuscript romance, No. 16, F. IX., of the royal collection at the British Museum. I judge it to be of about the year 1440, and have referred to it in a former page, in speaking of the *salade*.

*Plate 28.* The specimens here given are from a magnificent manuscript, No. 15, E. VI. in the royal collection, at the British Museum. This manuscript, a large thick folio, was presented to Margaret of Anjou, upon her marriage, in 1443, with Henry VI., by John Talbot,



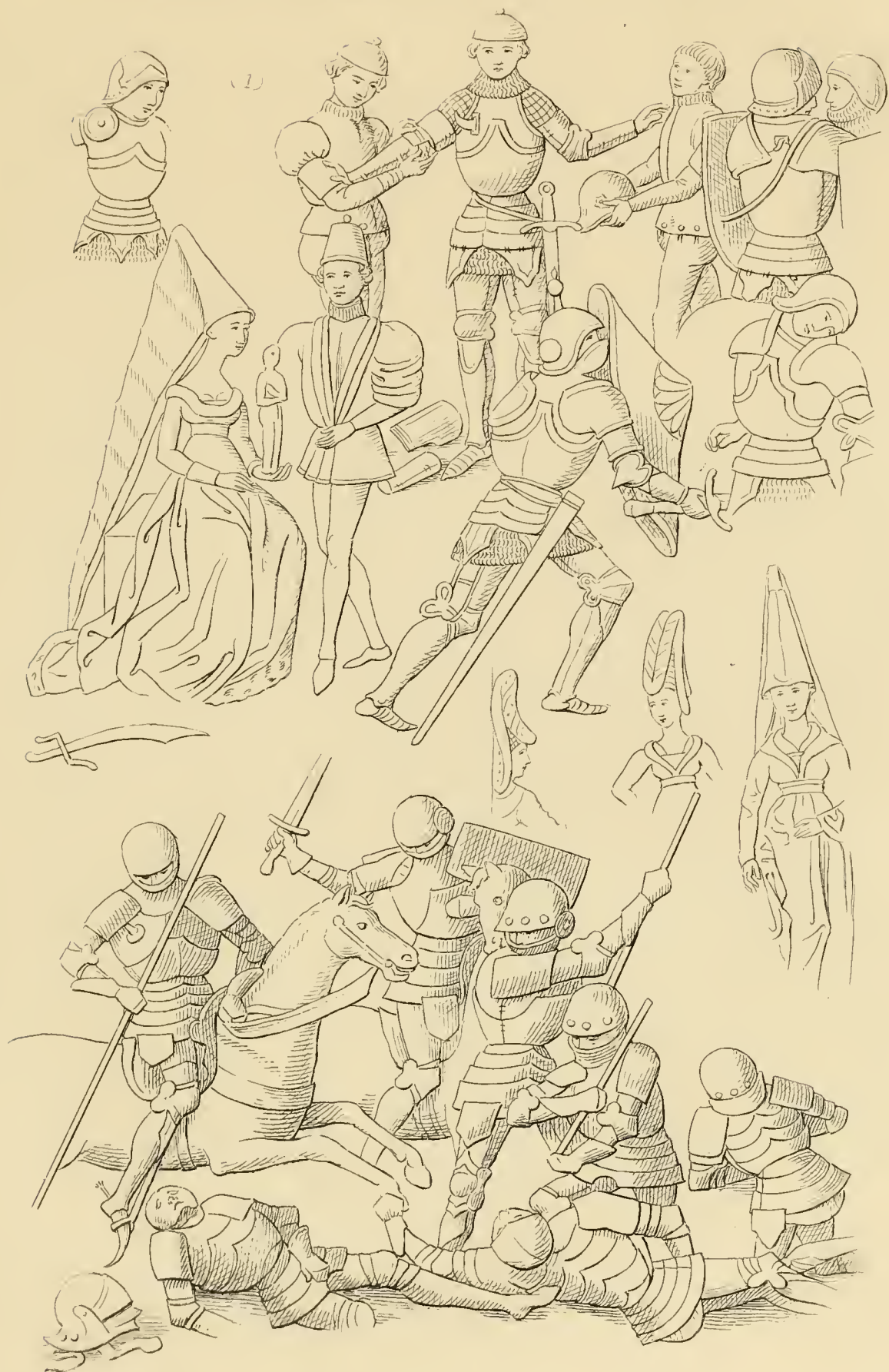


the great Earl of Shrewsbury, as a wedding present. It is all in French, and appears to contain romances and other poems, the laws of chivalry, &c., and whatever else, besides her prayer-book, a fine lady of those times was required to know. I conclude that the book was put in hand as soon as the marriage was determined on, perhaps as soon as it was first contemplated; and it is evident that several different scribes, and several illuminators, were employed simultaneously, upon the different gatherings, in order that the work might be expedited as much as possible. The first painting, a frontispiece occupying an entire page, represents the Earl on his knees, presenting the volume to the young Queen, who is seated by the King, her hand in his. Underneath are French verses, in which it is said that the book will enable the Queen to keep up her French, after she shall have learned to speak English.

I have before observed, p. 327, that in the whole of this manuscript, which abounds with the representations of armed figures, I found only one solitary instance of the lower breast-plate being fastened to the upper with a *strap and buckle*, namely, the one represented in the plate. I have since again examined the volume, very carefully, and am confirmed in the accuracy of the remark. I may add, that, in numerous cases, the point of the lower breast-plate is as clearly defined as possible, and that in no instance, except that above mentioned, did I perceive any sign whatever of the said fastening. The manuscript has no instance of the *bascinet and camail*, whence we may, I think, argue that it had quite fallen into disuse, at this time, in France; but tippetts of chain round the throat, and covering part of the breast of the figures, occur not unfrequently. The helmet is always the *salade*, worn in some cases with the *mentoniere*. It will be seen, that the head-dresses of the ladies, are very nearly the same as some of those in the Bedford Missal, and that they bear an almost exact resemblance to two specimens given by us in Plate 19\*, from the 'Biblia Pauperum.' I find in my notes concerning this manuscript, that at fol. cccclii, are two figures with long pointed toes.

*Plate 29. No. 1.* I drew these figures, and at the same time a

(1.) French MSc. 1445. (2.) Flemish MSc. 1452. — Fr. Douce Esp.







few others, from a French manuscript of the 'Roman de Troy,' in the collection of the late Mr. Douce; whose kindness at all times, in permitting me access to whatever I wanted in his valuable library, will ever be gratefully remembered by me. Upon now recurring to my original memoranda, I find no reason to induce me to believe, that in dating it about 1445, I have placed it too early; though, as I before said, I cannot be certain. The breast-plate in several instances appears to be decidedly of three pieces, and I nowhere observed it fastened with a strap and buckle. The *tuilles* occur almost constantly. I found a few instances of rather long-pointed toes; but never extravagantly so.

No. 2. The manuscript from which these figures, also, were taken, was in the collection of Mr. Douce; it is a square folio, on vellum, the subject 'the Miracles of our Lady,' in French. The book was written, most probably at Bruges or Ghent, for Philip le Bon, and contains numerous miniatures finished with exquisite delicacy, in black and white, in body colours; the figures being quite in the style of the Van Eycks, and equal in merit to the best works of their school. There is reason to believe that it was completed about 1452, and it was probably at least two or three years in hand. The illuminations in the large book of prayers, at the Hague, done for the same prince, and which has been briefly noticed in our remarks on Plate 27, No. 3, are in the same style; and it is possible that the same artists may have been employed upon both these works, and that they may have been in hand at the same time. But the miniatures in Mr. Douce's manuscript, though less numerous, are much larger than those in the prayer-book, and consequently allowed a wider scope to the powers of the artist, besides that the subject admitted a freer range to his fancy; so that, on the whole, the illuminations in Mr. Douce's manuscript appeared to me far preferable to those in the other, as works of art.

The first miniature, which is eight inches high and seven wide, represents the Madonna seated on a throne, with the infant Christ on her lap, and Philip le Bon kneeling on the left, accompanied by



St. Andrew. Philip, whose head and figure seem done from nature, appears about fifty years of age ; certainly, I should say, not more than fifty-five. He was born in 1396, and therefore we cannot place the commencement of the manuscript later than 1449-50. The figures in this manuscript have often somewhat long-pointed toes ; but they are never of the extravagant length which we find in illuminations of Edward IVth's time. In no instance have I found the upper and lower breast-plates fastened to each other by the strap and buckle. I have elsewhere observed that the figures on the ground, at bottom, seem to have the breast-plates and back-covering each of several pieces. The helmet is commonly the *salade*. The figures in this, and in most of the other plates, are drawn of larger dimensions than those in the original miniatures, in order the better to convey an idea of the details of the costume.

*Plate 30.* The specimens contained in this plate are taken from the MSS. 14 E. IV. and 15 E. IV., in the royal collection at the British Museum. I have before stated (p. 326) that these two manuscripts, which are in the French language, appear to be the first and third of a set of seven large volumes of the 'Chronicles of England,' which were written for our Edward IV., most probably at Bruges, and I should say, early in his reign. The figures in the two upper rows are from 14 E. IV., those at bottom from the other manuscript. The reader will in general, I think, find little resemblance between the costume of these figures and the costume of the 'Speculum,' certainly much less than he must have perceived between the cuts of that work and a large proportion of the specimens in the preceding plates, taken from earlier manuscripts and sepulchral monuments.

We have nothing like the *bascinet* with the *camail*, in either of these manuscripts, the constant helmet being the *salade*, sometimes with, and sometimes without, the visor. A tippet of chain-mail, instead of the *hausse-col* of plate, is, however, of frequent occurrence ; and as often as not, we have the breast-plate, and the back-covering, each of three or more pieces, as in the cuirass in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick, so often mentioned.







I must not here omit to rectify an error which I have inadvertently fallen into, at page 327, when speaking of late examples of the use of the *strap and buckle, to fasten the lower to the upper breast-plate*, I state that I have found instances of this fastening, “though so slightly indicated as to be scarcely perceptible,” in the manuscript 15 E. IV. Since I wrote that passage, I have carefully re-examined this manuscript, and the following are my notes on the point in question :

“MS. 15, E. IV. First illumination, (fol. 14.) In the border, is a large figure of a man in armour, standing, holding a standard. The top of the *lower breast-plate* seems fastened to the bottom of the *hausse-col* (not the upper breast-plate), by a strap and buckle.—Fol. 49. A battle of many figures on foot ; the breast-plate mostly of three or four pieces ; no strap and buckle.—Fol. 179. A battle of many figures on foot ; the breast-plate often of two pieces ; no strap and buckle.—Fol. 222. Several small armed figures, kneeling ; the breast-plate of two pieces, the upper covered with silk ; in one figure, the *lower breast-plate* seems buckled to the bottom of the *hausse-col*, as in the larger figure above-mentioned ; in others, *a narrow strap seems to come from under the pointed tippet of chain worn by them, which is buckled to the upper point of the lower breast-plate* : but these straps and buckles are so slightly indicated by thin touches of white, as to be sometimes almost imperceptible.—Fol. 229. *verso*. Another instance of the strap coming from under the tippet, and buckled to the upper point of the lower breast-plate.—Fol. 314. *verso*. Two or three similar instances of the strap and buckle.”

These observations, though very minute, seem to me of importance. Since writing them, I find, upon turning to our Plate 28, that the single specimen of the strap and buckle therein given, is similar to some of those discovered by me in the MS. 15. E. IV. the strap, as in them, coming from underneath the chain tippet, and not being apparently fixed to the upper breast-plate.

I shall add but a few words concerning the other costume of these two manuscripts. In general, the figures not dressed in armour have long pointed shoes. But it is worthy of remark that, in some instances, the same illumination that presents the most extravagant examples of that fashion, contains also other figures with shoes not pointed at all ;



and this remark will apply, also, to some of the engravings of Israel van Mecken, done probably about the same time as these illuminations, where sometimes we find a figure with very long pointed toes, and another without; as is the case, especially, if I remember, in one of his most capital pieces, 'the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias.' The head-dress of the ladies, in these manuscripts, is almost always the tower head-dress, with a thin veil over it, and a small black loop, of which I have elsewhere spoken, shewing itself from under the tower, at the top of the forehead. I have found in them no instances of the mitred, or horned head-dresses, such as are given from the 'Biblia Pauperum,' in Plate 19\*, and from various early manuscripts in Plates 25—29.

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THE observations on costume which I have ventured to offer in this chapter, together with the plates accompanying them, may be considered as illustrations of the previous Dissertation of Dr. Meyrick, or in the way of an appendix to it, or commentary upon it. The question at issue seemed to me so important, that I did not think it could be too fully canvassed; and I am sure that in this, Sir Samuel Meyrick will agree with me. For, as I have before said, (p. 250) whatever the date we assign to the cuts of the 'Speculum,' or rather to the commencement of them, it may fairly be insisted, that the art of printing with moveable characters had been practised by the projector of the work, some time before.

Dr. Meyrick's argument, in proof of the early date of from 1430 to 1435, which he gives to the cuts of the *Speculum*, is founded upon two kinds of evidence, positive and negative; for first, he finds in the general character of the armour in that work, as well as in various details which he enumerates, such a conformity to the armour in illuminated manuscripts, and other monuments of that period, as to lead him to suppose that the cuts are of the same time; and, secondly, he

argues that they cannot have been done later, because they offer no examples of certain changes of fashion in the construction of armour, the breast-plate of three pieces, &c.—which he says were introduced, and commonly prevailed, almost immediately afterwards.

But it has been shewn that the breast-plate of three or four pieces, instead of two, was not commonly used, if indeed it was at all known, at the early period Dr. Meyrick has supposed; and, therefore, this part of his argument cannot be admitted as so conclusive as he appears to have considered it. True it is, that the cuts of the Speculum, offering no one instance of the breast-plate of three pieces, is a strong circumstance in favour of their having been done before that sort of breast-plate was much known, whatever the period at which it became so.

The *strap and buckle*, used to fasten the two breast-plates together, as it appears in a figure in Plate 13, is another circumstance which appears favourable to the early date of these cuts; and, still more so, perhaps, the introduction, not unfrequent, of the *pointed bascinet with the camail*, or the *hausse-col* of plate; the former a costume common in the beginning of the fifteenth century, but of which I know not if I have yet met with an example so late as 1445, whether in monumental effigies, or illuminated manuscripts; to which I may add that I agree with Dr. Meyrick, that the total absence of the long pointed toes, which appear to have prevailed so generally from about the middle to near the close of the fifteenth century, would seem to indicate that these cuts must have been done before.

To conclude—I have found nothing in the costume of the cuts of the Speculum, that appears to me to militate directly against the supposition that they may be of the early date Dr. Meyrick has assigned to them, and, although the argument produced by that gentleman to shew that they cannot be later, is not perhaps in all respects conclusive, still, considering all the circumstances, I could with difficulty persuade myself that the work was not *commenced*, at least, within a few years of the period he has supposed, and certainly, I should say, not later than 1450.

















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